THE CORONATION BOOK OF EDWARD VII

KING OF ALL THE BRITAINS AND EMPEROR OF INDIA

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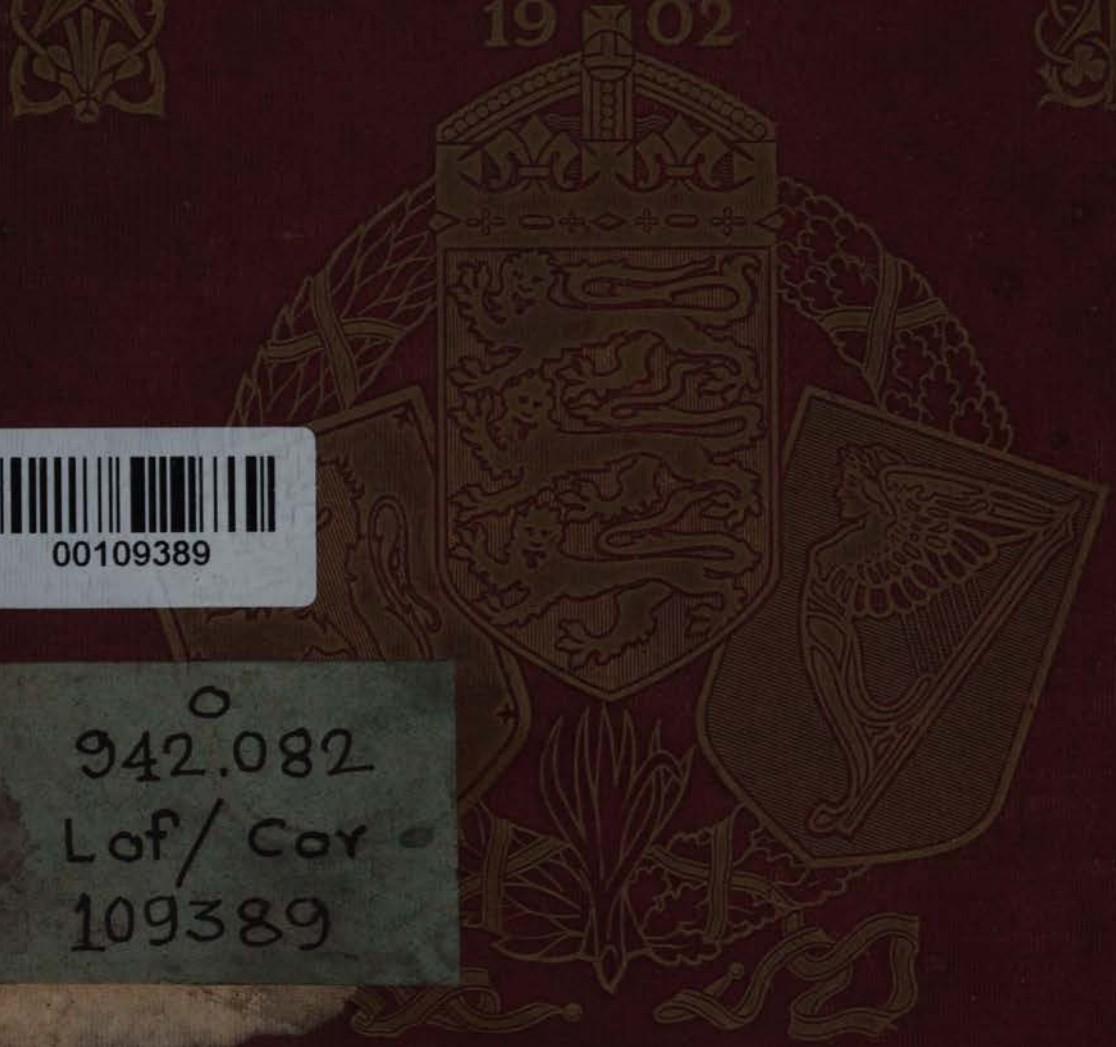

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THE CORONATION BOOK OF EDWARD VII.

KING OF ALL THE BRITAINS AND EMPEROR OF INDIA.

BY W. J. LOFTIE, B.A., F.S.A.

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INTRODUCTION

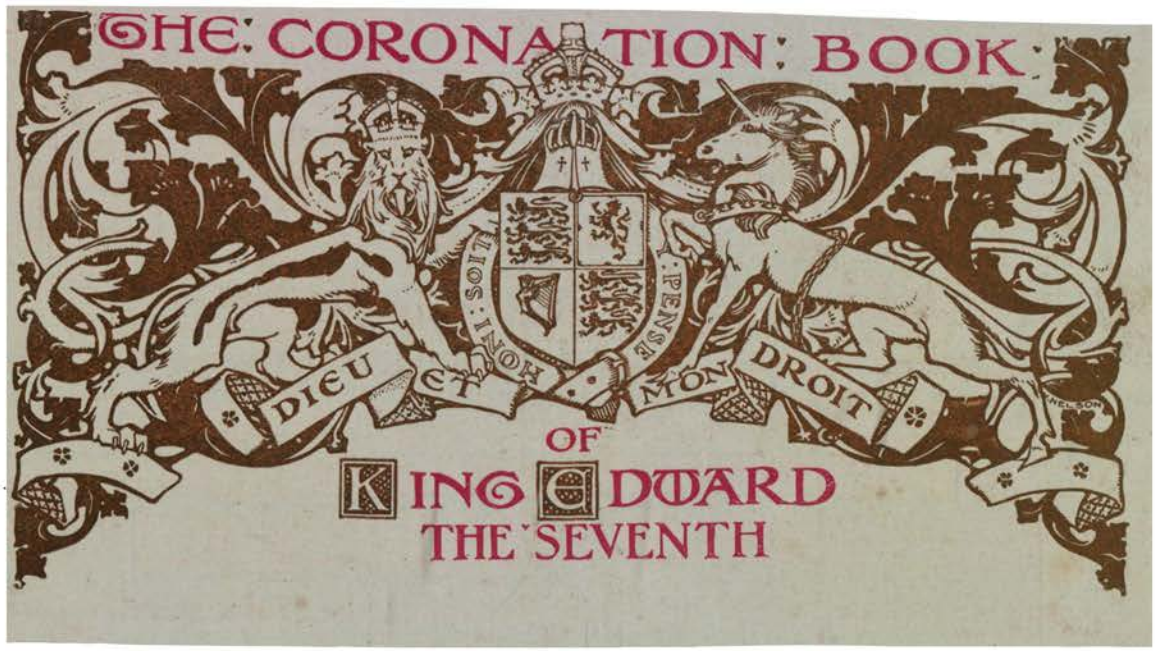
TO the whole British race the Coronation of King Edward the Seventh is an event of the deepest significance. The eager interest with which the inhabitants of a few small islands off the north-western coast of Europe regard this solemn yet joyous induction of our King to his august office is shared by millions who have passed in a broad band, brothers and cousins, round the whole earth. There are young Britons in all the Continents. There are Colonies of our race in islands so remote that we reckon them our antipodes. Everywhere the same feeling prevails—they rejoice with us and we rejoice with them, and from them and us together there proceeds a mighty volume of good wishes for the reign of which the Coronation is the formal beginning.

It is now more than seventy years since a King was crowned in England. Very few among us can remember September, 1831, when, on the 8th day of the month, King William the Fourth and Queen Adelaide were crowned in Westminster Abbey. In 1838 the Coronation of Queen Victoria followed, and the peculiar circumstances excited more attention. The youth, and yet more the sex, of the new Monarch appealed to the imagination with quite exceptional power. Sixty-three years of wise and beneficent rule, coupled with the marvellous expansion of our race and realm which has ensued since the Great Queen's accession, make us all grateful for that marvellously delicate if indefinite adjustment which we describe as Constitutional Monarchy. Nor can we fail to be desirous that nothing on our part may be omitted which each of us may be able to contribute to render happy the beginning of the reign of Edward the Seventh, the son and heir of a Sovereign who has added imperishable lustre to an ancient throne.

This antiquity, this symbol of rational freedom, which has weathered the changes and chances of a thousand years, appeals powerfully to the minds of all true Britons. The freedom we are blessed with, "sober suited" as it is, finds itself the better now and then for such a tonic as is afforded by a Coronation. We want to be reminded in these utilitarian days of what our forefathers did and suffered to obtain for us the settled

government, together with "the old and just renown," which we enjoy, like the air we breathe, without always remembering to be grateful for it. That the crown of Egbert, of Alfred, of Edgar, has descended peacefully after eleven centuries to the son of Queen Victoria is a great fact in a nation's history. No other throne in Christendom is so ancient. No other has been occupied by so many monarchs who have wrought for the welfare of their people. The work of civilisation begun by the Saxon Dynasty has been carried on at various times and in different ways by many Kings and Queens—Danish, Norman, Angevin, Tudor, Stuart and Hanoverian—till it comes once more into the hands of another Saxon Dynasty, a Saxon King by whose side is crowned a Danish Queen.

At the last Coronation in Westminster Abbey the new Sovereign was unknown to her people. They prayed for her—so some of them have told us—as they never had prayed for her predecessors, and they counted her reign a blessing to them and their children. The new King comes to us known, tried and trusted, with a long experience such as has seldom fallen to the lot of Heirs Apparent. He has to carry on the good work to which he has long devoted himself, and may count on the confidence and love of his people. In addition to these powerful helps he has, in his family and in their connections with all that is best among Continental monarchies, an assistance denied at her accession to the late Queen, whose loneliness at the beginning of her reign was contrasted in the minds of many of us with the noble throng of princes and princesses who were grouped around her at the Jubilees. To all these influences, with the strong guarantees of peace which they suggest, King Edward falls heir. And so we have every reason for hoping that his reign will be as joyous and brilliant as the Coronation of which the pages that follow are intended to form a memorial.



CHAPTER I.

CROWNS AND THRONES.

An Auspicious Name—A Thousand Years Ago—Crowning and Hallowing—Queen Victoria—Crowns in Ancient Egypt—In Ancient Greece—Among the Hebrews—In Later Greece—Among the Romans—Ceremony of Anointing—Crown of Charlemagne—Iron Crown of Lombardy—Legend of the Invention of the Cross—Fate of Old English Crowns—Who was Queen Edith?—Crowns Shown on Coins—Tudor Crowns—Crowns Shown in MSS.—A French Coronation—French and German Crowns—The Papal Tiara—Throne of Edward I.—The Stone of Destiny: Legend and History—Kingston-on-Thames—King's Town or King's Stone?—Coronations at Kingston—The Stone at Kingston.

AUSPICIOUS is the name which King Edward bears. In English, we may say it is a lucky name. Ten Sovereigns who have borne it reigned over us. The first was the son of the Great Alfred, as the tenth is the son of the Great Victoria. Some of the authorities derive it from two Anglo-Saxon words which signify "worthy of happiness," an interpretation which fits so well with what we should wish that we are disposed to accept it as final. Edward the Elder ascended the throne at the beginning of the tenth century, Edward VII. at the beginning of the twentieth, and the whole course of our history as a nation has rolled by between the two dates. As Freeman tersely puts it: King Edward was the first King of the West Saxons who was lord of all Britain. "From his time our Kings no longer called themselves Kings of the West Saxons or of the Saxons, but Kings of the Anglo-Saxons or of the English, and sometimes Kings or Emperors of all Britain." Edward VII. inherits from his predecessor a wider empire than that to which she came sixty-five years ago, and calls himself "By the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India."

An Auspicious Name.

It is a thousand years all but twenty-three since the son of the first of our Edwards was crowned on the banks of the Thames. In the ancient chronicle of the Anglo-Saxon nation we read that in the year 925 Athelstan was chosen by the Mercians, and hallowed at King-

A Thousand Years Ago.

ston. It is worthy of note that there is no mention of the royal symbol, the kingly crown. The ceremony, whatever it was, is briefly described by the single word, "hallowed," and when we enquire further we observe that in the old English language there was no word for crowning—no word, indeed, for a crown. The modern expression so often on our lips in this particular year only came to England three centuries after the time of this son of the first King Edward, and grandson of Alfred the Great.

Crowning and Hallowing.

Nevertheless, the idea of a crown was not new in the thirteenth century—it was not new even in the tenth. Crowns marked the brows of old Kings in our islands long before Edward and Athelstan united them all under their imperial rule. The important part of the ceremony, by which a new King's accession to power was made known to his people, consisted not in his assumption of a gold circlet, but in his being hallowed. His person, his life, his suzerains and subjects, the reign, in short, which was about to begin, all were dedicated to God in a solemn service, a service more nearly analogous in its oldest form to that for the consecration of a bishop than to any other of which we know. Our Kings are ordained to their high office. At the same time they become knights, if they have not been knighted before; they are anointed; they take the oath and vow upon them, tendered by the laws of their land; a relic and memorial of their election still lingers among later ceremonials. All these things, with the prayers, the offerings, the reception of the swords of mercy and justice, the presentation to the people, are essential parts of the "hallowing." The coronation, when the Archbishop places the jewelled token of sovereignty on the new monarch's head, is the visible pledge that all the other conditions have been fulfilled, and that the hallowing is complete.

THE DOUBLE CROWN OF EGYPT, XIITH DYNASTY.

(From a Gold Head of a Goddess in the British Museum.)

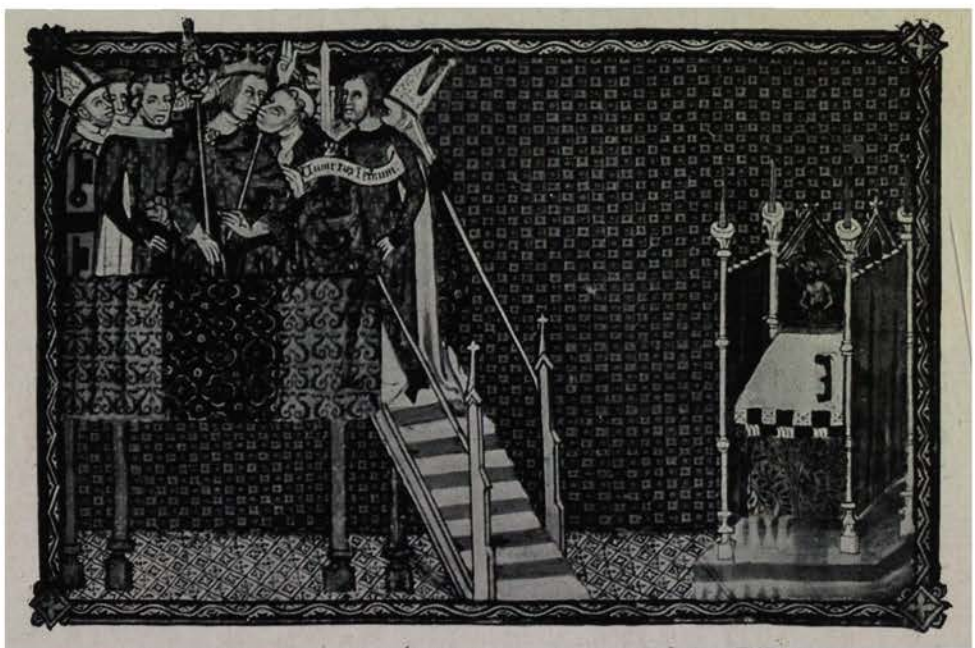
We all know how seriously Queen Victoria took her hallowing. We know how she regarded the duties imposed upon her then—duties from which she never shrank in sickness or health, in weal or woe, in joy or sorrow, in youth or old age, even to the very end of her long life. She considered herself as one appointed, or chosen, or destined, to fulfil a mission. That mission was always clear in her mind. It was her guiding star. In difficulty, in darkness, in perplexity, it helped her to rise to each occasion, while it kept her from exultation in triumph and from extravagance in prosperity. The high ideal she conceived of the duty imposed upon her seemed to nerve her, even in misfortune and long days of anxiety and disappointment, to fresh efforts for the good of her people and to greater belief in the charge she had received to keep them in wealth, peace, and godliness. Two whole generations lived under her, and we must hope that the third generation, though but four years old when she passed away, may remember that it shared the blessings of her care and example; and may see in the present coronation what it

Queen Victoria.

was that remained always undimmed through those sixty-four years in the mind of Queen Victoria—what it was that caused one of her biographers to say "she never questioned that she was the anointed of the Lord, called by the most solemn warrant to rule a great nation in the fear of God."

Crowns in Ancient Egypt.

The oldest records in which we find mention of crowns are those of ancient Egypt. Of the great dynasties who built the pyramids, we know that Pharaoh was looked upon as superior to everyone else in his realm—to all officials, to the priests, nay even to the gods of the country. It was contrary to usage, if not to law, to represent the gods, with the exception of the King. His statue, his picture, the hieroglyphics which formed his name, were to be seen everywhere. But so far, we do not see him wearing a crown. Egyptologists have noticed that a change took place after the first great Semitic invasion. The incursion of Oriental, perhaps Arab, tribes followed after the time of the Sixth Dynasty, at a period so remote that it is almost impossible even to approximate to its date in years. Dr. Wallis-Budge is inclined to put the period of confusion which elapsed between the fall of the race of Kings which we call the Sixth Dynasty, and the rise of the Twelfth, at from B.C. 3133 to 2466, or more than half a millennium, during which, of course, many things were changed, and among them the way of distinguishing royalty. We find that when law and order were restored under the Twelfth Dynasty representations of the figures of the gods and of kings wearing crowns begin to appear. In fact, one of the first works of the goldsmith's art now known to exist shows a King of the Twelfth Dynasty standing, and the hawk-headed god Her, or Horus, placing on his head the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. Here, then, in the oldest extant representation of a coronation, we have it made a religious function.



PRESENTATION OF A KING (CHARLES V. OF FRANCE) TO THE PEOPLE.
(From a MS. in the British Museum.)

The crowns of Egypt were of two very different patterns. That of the more southern province was like a mitre, a tall cap, probably of white linen, a detail which reminds us that the sacred cat, worshipped chiefly at Bubastis, but also almost throughout the Egypt of the Rameses and Ptolemies, was called "Our Lady of the White Crown." The crown of Lower Egypt was a circlet, somewhat like the gold fillets found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, and now in the Athens Museum. This golden circlet seems in Egypt to have been bound round the mitre, and the two are represented together or separately in hundreds of figures of Kings, and in countless

inscriptions in which they denote various attributes of sovereignty as well as certain letters of the hieroglyphic alphabet.

We can hardly fail to see the influence of old Egypt in almost all ceremonial, civil and religious, among civilised nations. A recent eminent Egyptologist wrote a volume chiefly designed to prove that the Christianity of Papal Rome owed nothing to Ancient Egypt: but he only succeeded in showing that many usages, such as the tonsure and linen vestments, were adopted in antagonism to or were made to differ purposely from those of the old Egyptians—which is quite another thing. The Papal tiara is an example. In speaking of crowns and coronations it would be impossible to ignore the fact that the earliest crowns of which history tells were those I have endeavoured to describe, of Upper and Lower Egypt.

THE PAPAL TIARA.
(From a MS. in the British Museum.)

Influence of Egyptian Ceremonial.

In the most ancient Greek remains, crowns constantly occur. Those found at Mycenæ have just been mentioned. They are believed to follow patterns set in Asia Minor at a very remote period. Their Oriental style and other features would place them next to the Egyptian objects described above in point of age; but though no crowns and no hieroglyphics representing crowns have been recognised in the early Egyptian period, those of the Twelfth and subsequent dynasties are still of a remoteness, as compared with the most archaic remains yet found in Greece, which renders futile any attempt to argue from one to the other. In later ages crowns were connected popularly, both in Greece and in Rome, with the luxurious habits and ornaments of Asiatic monarchs. The best authorities have ascribed the golden remains of Mycenæ and Sparta to Carian races of Kings—foreign colonists settled in Argolis—"at a period antecedent to the 10th century B.C." The crowns and other regal trappings shewn at Athens are therefore apparently a thousand years later than the time of the first Egyptian kings who used such emblems, although, as compared to later Greek relics, of an antiquity which must be called archaic.

Crowns in Ancient Greece.

In the Athens Museum we find what are described as "diadems of very thin gold with spiral ornamentation." Each of them had a pin and a small tube to correspond, by which the crown could be fastened round the head. It has been observed that in some cases these circlets, being of very thin gold, easily bent, were broken as if from use, and that new ones were supplied—ready, it would seem, for the royal personage interred to put on when he should have reached the other world. It is probable, as I have said, that these early remains indicate the prevalence on Greek soil of customs which had their origin in an Asiatic country. Accordingly we find the crown mentioned in Hebrew and Chaldean records at all times, and especially in the books of Moses.

There are two words in the Old Testament which are usually translated by "crown." The oldest, at least that which comes first, is in Exodus. In making the ark for the sanctuary—of acacia wood overlaid with gold—Moses was directed to place round the top a rim or moulding or *crown—zer*. This same word *zer* is only used in what may be called a mechanical sense; but another word, derived from it, *nezer*, occurs in several places in the same sense, and also as denoting some-

Among the Hebrews.

thing very like the Egyptian double crown described above. In Leviticus we read that when Aaron was consecrated, Moses set the mitre on his head, and "upon the mitre, in front, did he set the golden plate, the holy *crown*." It is clear that when Moses thus crowned the High Priest, the double crown which he had seen when he stood before King Rameses was in his mind. He had been directed to make certain things such as he had never seen, and he had no patterns to go by except such as he knew at the court of the Pharaoh whose daughter had brought him up. The same word *nezer*, used here, is also the designation of a King's crown in the second book of Samuel. Thus Saul wore a crown (*nezer*) as King of Israel; and Jehoiada, the priest, placed a crown (*nezer*) on the head of the young King Joash.

In some passages, however, a different word is used—*atarah*. When David took Rabbah "he took the crown (*atarah*) of their king from off his head; and the weight thereof was a talent of gold, and in it were precious stones: and it was set on David's head." This word is also used of the mighty city Tyre by the prophet Isaiah. He speaks of it as the distributor of *diadems*, "whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth."

There is some now forgotten difference between *nezer* and *atarah*, and, possibly, the first word means a plate of soft gold, such as could be bound round a linen mitre or inner crown, like that of Lower Egypt. *Atarah*, on the other hand, implies surrounding or protecting, as with a complete circle, perhaps arched over the top.

In Later Greece.

In later Greece, in the country of the famous republics, where the arts were carried to such a pitch of perfection, the crown acquired a new meaning. It no longer denoted royalty, but became a symbol of success, especially of success in the great games of Olympia and other places. In this sense, for which the Greek word *stephanos* is constantly used, St. Paul and other New Testament writers speak of a wreath as the end to be obtained by striving. The poets' laurel was twined round the victor's brow. One quotation may suffice. In the First Epistle to the Corinthians the wreath is very pointedly employed by the apostle as a sign with which all to whom he wrote were familiar. The passage is thus given in the "Twentieth Century New Testament": "Do you not know that, though all run who join in a race, yet only one gets the prize? Run then like him, so that you may be sure to win. All athletes exercise self-restraint in everything; but while they do it for a crown that soon withers, we do it for one that will not wither."

In this sense, too, the words are connected historically with the story of the tragedy of King Charles I. In the coronation sermon Bishop Senhouse took for his text (Rev. ii., 10): "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." On the scaffold at Whitehall in 1649, Charles recalled the text in his last words: "I go," he said, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown."

Among the Romans.

According to the ideas prevalent in Christendom in the Middle Ages a crown was always looked upon as a sacred thing, a religious emblem, and a coronation as a hallowing. When the Roman Empire was in its infancy under the first Cæsars neither a hallowing nor a coronation was thought of, but the Emperor was the "Chief Bridge Builder," Pontifex Maximus, the high priest of the gods, and was no doubt admitted to the office with

COIN OF THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS SHOWING WREATH.

a religious celebration. As time went on, the Oriental usage prevailed more or less, and the last Emperors are nearly always represented on coins wearing a circlet. Numerianus, in A.D. 283, wears a crown ornamented with spikes, but bound round the head with a cord or ribbon. Two centuries later

Julius Nepos has what looks like an arched crown with a cresting of spikes or rays. The early emperors, on the other hand, seldom wore anything but a wreath of leaves. Julius Cæsar is said to have used one to conceal his baldness; but his successor, Augustus, was careful to avoid all royal ensigns, and his head

COIN OF NUMERIANUS.

appears on coins without any ornament. Roman generals who had received the honour of a triumph were entitled to some kind of crown or wreath, and we find a curious and very learned note in Gibbon's "Decline and Fall" (chapter xxiv.) on the subject of the crowns decreed to the soldiers of some cities in the East by Julian the Apostate. Julian or his biographer blundered, according to our great historian. He gave *obsidional* crowns to these soldiers, whereas he should have given them *mural* crowns, the obsidional being the reward of a general who had delivered a besieged city.

Side by side with the crown in the estimation of various nations went the ceremony of anointing. Before the whole mediæval usage of a coronation, as exemplified in the history of the last Byzantine emperors, and in the still extant crown of Charles the Great, we must place the preparation and outpouring of the holy oil. In fact, as regards our English Kings before the Conquest, the hallowings at Kingston or Winchester may have chiefly consisted in the anointing.

Ceremony of Anointing.

From the days when David wrote of "the precious oil upon the head that ran down upon the beard" of Aaron, it was always esteemed an integral part of the consecration of a king that he should be anointed. The examples in the Old Testament are very numerous. Samuel anointed David "in the midst of his brethren," while as yet he was only a keeper of sheep. It was with more elaborate ceremonial that Solomon was anointed, for we read that "Zadok the priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said: God save King Solomon." But the most interesting text is that in which we are told of the mission of Elijah: "Go, return on thy way to the wilderness of Damascus; and when thou comest thou shalt anoint Hazael to be King over Syria: and Jehu the son of Nimshi shalt thou anoint to be King over Israel; and Elisha the son of Shaphat of Abelmeholah shalt thou anoint to be prophet in thy room."

Like the crowning, the anointing seems, as a phrase, to have come to us in the thirteenth century from the French. Yet the idea and the ceremony are of the highest antiquity. True, anointing does not appear in accounts of the hallowing of King Aidan by Columba, in which the blessing and the imposition of hands seem rather like a priestly ordination. Yet it is impossible to argue as to an event so remote, one of which we know that it happened in A.D. 571, and very little, if anything, more. Of the coronation of Charles the Great or Charlemagne, which took place at Rome in A.D. 800, we have authentic accounts, and there is no question as to the important place in it of the anointing. A king might place the crown on his own head, as Harold is said to have done, but he could not anoint himself. Dean Stanley mentions a popular idea that the "*Dei Gratia*" in a sovereign's titles refers to the anointing. "This unction," he says, "was believed to be the foundation of the title, reaching back to the days of King Ina, of *Dei Gratia*"; and he refers the reader to Maskell's "Monumenta Ritualia."

COIN OF JULIUS NEPOS.

The coronation of Charles the Great by Pope Leo III. forms a connecting link between the ancient empire and the modern kingdoms and so-called empires of Christian Europe. He was held especially to represent a revival of the powers and rights of the Roman or western sovereignty. The Byzantine dynasties were not

extinct, but the "Holy Roman Empire," and all it signified to the priests, soldiers, and people who acknowledged the Bishop of Rome as their spiritual chief, was embodied in what became, in the course of centuries, merely the title of a German sovereign. The crown of Charles still exists at Vienna, and differs in design from the wreaths and fillets of the old Empire as much as it does from the elegant arched crowns of French and English sovereigns with their crosses and *fleurs-de-lis*.

When Otho II., or as some say Otho III., opened Charlemagne's tomb in the tenth century, the body of his predecessor was found, seated on his throne. According to some accounts his feet were placed within an ancient stone sarcophagus, which is still preserved in the Cathedral of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). This may have been a Roman coffin, and is carved with a bas-relief representing the Seizure of Proserpine by Pluto. Upon the Emperor's knees was a splendid copy of the Gospels, which is now in the Imperial Treasury at Vienna. By his side was his sword Joyeuse. Round his waist was the leathern scrip, or satchel, which figures in history as his constant companion. The more movable relics were transferred to Paderborn in 1794, and four years later to Vienna, where they still remain. But previously, until the Holy Roman Empire fell before Napoleon Bonaparte, every emperor was hallowed at Aachen with the crown of Charlemagne; and since then it has been preserved in the Schatzkammer of the Hofberg along with the Sicilian and other jewels which form the Austrian Imperial treasure.

Crown of Charlemagne.

This crown has each side formed of a plate of gold, enamelled, chased, embossed, and jewelled, but so often repaired and "restored" that a careful examination, difficult to make, would be necessary before the exact age of each plate could be determined. The plate in front is higher than the rest, and is surmounted by a cross. An arch—a single gold rib, so to speak—stretches from back to front. This crown has been imitated in a later example in the same museum, and is represented in so many pictures, engravings, sculptures, and coins that it is familiar to all as the emblem of the "Holy Roman Empire."

CROWN OF CHARLEMAGNE.

Another very ancient crown is preserved at Monza, near Milan, and represents, if it is not actually, the Iron Crown of the Kings of Lombardy. Opinions differ as to the origin of the legend which described the inner band of iron as one of the nails of the true Cross, supposed to have been discovered at Jerusalem by the mother of Constantine, the Empress Helena. We are not told how many nails there were, nor does it seem possible to trace the previous history of that one which was supposed to have lined the Lombard crown. It is even

Iron Crown of Lombardy.

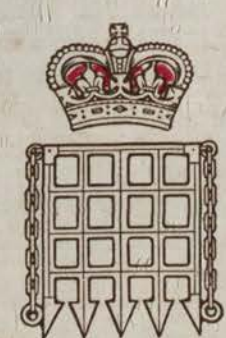
asserted that, though the Iron Crown of Lombardy is certainly mentioned at an early period, its connection with the legend of the Cross does not go back more than four centuries—if, indeed, so far.

The crown, with which it is said that thirty-four Lombard kings were crowned, is preserved in a special shrine near the high altar of the cathedral of Monza. It was carried off to Vienna for the coronation of Charles V., and for that of Ferdinand I. in 1838; and in the meanwhile does not seem to have lost any of its sanctity from having been used by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1805. After the campaign of 1859 it was removed once more, but restored to Monza at the peace in 1866, when the Austrians finally evacuated Lombardy and Venetia. It consists of a broad circlet of gold, adorned with diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones. In a groove round the interior is a thin strip or hoop of iron. The earliest king who is known to have worn the Iron Crown is Henry of Luxemburg, who began to reign in 1311. But after his day, in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century, the legend of the nail began to take shape and was at last accepted as true by the Court of Rome.

This acknowledgment on the part of the Pope's antiquarian committee adds some features of interest to the history of the object itself, and is sufficient, no doubt, to account for the veneration of the faithful. Historically, however, the sequence of events thus guaranteed is of little or no value. It involves, as has been remarked elsewhere, a long chain of improbabilities and absurdities. First, we must believe that the Empress Helena had a special power given her to distinguish, among the thousands of fragments which may have strewn the valleys round Jerusalem in the fourth century, that which belonged to the true Cross. We have read that Titus crucified 10,000 prisoners to encourage the rest of the Jews to surrender. That the Empress should find a cross is therefore very probable, but to assert that she knew it from a multitude of similar relics is to concede the whole point in question. It is, in fact, not very easy to treat the whole narrative as more than a wildly improbable legend, only that it was undoubtedly believed for centuries not only in Italy but here in England. To make it square with facts, the monkish writers had recourse to still greater wonders. Here miracles come in and the functions of the historian cease in one sense, although they find immediate employment again in chronicling that the "*Inventio Crucis*" was accepted as true by the Empress Helena and her courtiers. Nay, an American author has described the mother of Constantine as "an old Englishwoman"! Apart from the fact that the Angles had not yet descended upon Britain when Constantine was stationed at York, and apart also from the probability, as proved by Gibbon, that Helena was the daughter of a Nicomedian innkeeper, and was not the wife, but the concubine, of the Roman general, this expression reminds us of the high veneration which was paid to St. Helen in England after the Norman Conquest, and also that the Discovery of the Cross is celebrated twice (May 3 and September 14) in the Book of Common Prayer, while more than a hundred English churches are dedicated to the Holy Rood or Saint Cross, and at least one to the Invention —that of Datling, in Norfolk.

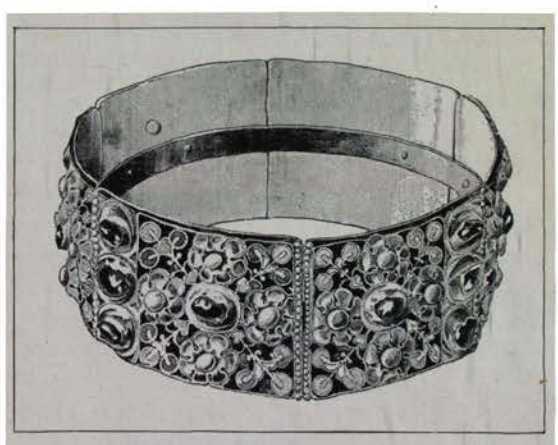
Legend of the Invention of the Cross.

We are constrained, therefore, to record with respect the belief of many Lombards and others that the nails, however many or few, which were discovered were religiously treasured by the Empress; and that, while some were used by Constantine to make a bridle for his war horse, and others were beaten out to form a helmet for the Emperor,



one at least remained to be sent by Pope Gregory the Great in or after A.D. 595 to Theodolinda, the Queen of the Lombards, who had restrained Astolf, her husband, from attacking the possessions of the Holy See. Even so, the story does not account for the fashioning of a crown of iron. The Queen's husband never wore a crown, and such a masculine crown as this would have been singularly unsuited to the brow of a lady.

It is, in short, easier to believe that the Iron Crown survived from some ancient custom of the warlike race whose settlement on the rich plains of northern Italy left them at least a memory of the stout deeds of ancestors among whom, no doubt, blood and iron were more regarded than wealth or the patronage of the Church. Whatever else may be believed or disbelieved, it is indubitable that the crown remains a venerable relic, and, with the sole exception of the Imperial crown of Charlemagne, the oldest, historically speaking, of which we have authentic records.



THE IRON CROWN OF LOMBARDY.

No crowns of the same antiquity as these at Vienna and Monza have been preserved in England. All the old crowns in the Tower or in the custody of the Dean of Westminster perished during the rule of the fanatics which preceded the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell. Among them two should be named in this preliminary chapter. They were not originally among the regalia in the Jewel Tower, but are described as having been removed thither from Westminster when the inventory was made in August, 1649. They were in the custody of Sir Henry Mildmay, and are described as follows :—

Fate of Old English Crowns.

"Queene Edith's crowne, formerly thought to be of massy gould, but upon triall found to be of silver gilt, enriched with garnetts, foule pearle, saphires, and some odd stones." Its weight is given as 5½ ounces, and its value as £16.

"King Alfred's crowne, of gould wyerworke, sett with slight stones, and two little bells." Of this crown the weight was 79½ ounces, and the value was assessed at £248 10s.

The ascription of one crown to a Queen named Edith is interesting. The only King's wife of that name was Edith or Eadgyth —daughter of Earl Godwin, and sister of the ill-fated King Harold II.—who married Edward the Confessor. She was not called Queen by her contemporaries ; but is always referred to as "The Lady." There is a possibility that by "Queen Edith" was meant Queen Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland. When, after her marriage with King Henry I., she was crowned at Westminster, she consented to change her English name for the Continental Matilda. Otherwise we might hazard a conjecture that the crown was that of Elinor of Provence, wife of Henry III.

Who was Queen Edith?

The oldest crowns represented on the coins of English kings are of such a rudimentary character that no argument can be founded on them as to the second of those in the Parliamentary list. King Alfred wears no crown, apparently, on the very rude coinage of his time. But the "wyerworke," the "slight stones," and especially the two little bells, show that the crown which bore his name must have been of very early manufacture, though probably not older than the time of Henry III. Mr. Cyril Davenport, the best authority on the subject, observes that from the time of Edward the Confessor to that of Henry I. "little tassels or tags are shown, which may indeed represent little bells suspended by a ribbon."

The figures of Henry III. and Queen Elinor of Castile, his son's wife, in the chapel of Edward the Confessor, have on them circlets or coronets very like those now called ducal. There is no cap or arch over the head. Similar crowns appear on the great seal of Henry, and in the

wall painting at Windsor which is believed to represent him. King Stephen and Henry I. have on their great seals something very like an arched crown, and the same form appears always after the reign of Henry VI. It is to be observed, however, that the four effigies at Westminster of Edward III. and Queen Philippa, Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia, are all without crowns, though a plain, narrow fillet is round the head of Richard. But in Gaywood's engravings of the tombs both Richard and his grandmother, Philippa, have crowns, or coronets, somewhat like that of Henry III., but more elaborate, and it is quite possible that both crowns have been stolen, like the bronze figures in the niches of the Queen's tomb and the silver head of Henry V.

In the great portrait of King Richard II. which hangs in the choir of the Abbey he is represented wearing an unarched crown, very like a modern ducal coronet. The crown is very wide, and consists of large strawberry leaves or trefoils floreated so as almost to resemble crosses. Between these large points—of which there are three—there are small ones. The lower circlet, from which the trefoils rise, is embossed with a pattern consisting chiefly of ovals, which look as if they were intended as setting for jewels. The King's robe is powdered with the letter "R" and with small crowns, each of three leaves only.

Richard II.'s Crown.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

EFFIGY OF HENRY III. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

From the accession of the Tudors onwards numerous representations of royal and princely crowns and coronets are to be seen. An old engraving by Grignion is copied in the forty-ninth volume of *Archæologia*, and shows Henry VII. with Elizabeth of York and their three sons and four daughters. The King and Queen wear high-arched crowns. The picture is elaborately described in a long and learned paper by Sir George Scharf, from which we gather that the crowns of the King and Queen have crosses and *fleurs-de-lis* round the circlet and crosses resting on the summits of the arches. The coronet of Arthur, Prince of Wales, "is highly ornamental, being composed of interlaced golden foliage, with small red jewels." It has no arch. His two younger brothers have lower coronets, but all the four princesses have high spreading crowns, such as kings and queens wore at an earlier period.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

EFFIGY OF ELINOR OF CASTILE IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Another picture of Richard II. is preserved at Wilton by the Earl of Pembroke. It forms a diptych, or picture on two separate leaves, and represents the King as a boy kneeling in the presence of St. John the Baptist, St. Edward the Confessor, and St. Edmund the King and Martyr. On the opposite leaf is a choir of angels surrounding the Blessed Virgin and the Infant Christ. The ground is gilt and worked over with a pattern, the nimbus surrounding the head of the Saviour having a crown of thorns minutely plaited within its circle. The King's crown is composed of three large jewelled and two smaller leaves or trefoils rising from a circlet or band of gold.

This picture is in the most brilliant condition and perfect preservation, and I may remark in passing that it proves what writers on art nearly always ignore—that the English school of painting in the fourteenth century was quite equal to that of Flanders or France, and far superior not only to Italian art at that time, but to that which prevailed a century and a half later, at least.

There is a manuscript in the British Museum which should be mentioned here. It contains the transcript in book form of a letter by Philippe de Mezieres, in which peace and friendship between France and England were re-

RICHARD II. PRESENTED TO THE VIRGIN MARY.

By Permission from the Diptych in the Possession of the Earl of Pembroke.

commended to Kings and people. The King of France was Charles VI., who came to the throne in 1380, three years after his ill-fated cousin Richard II. of England, whom he survived for twenty-two years, during which, owing to the English invasion, his kingdom was reduced to the lowest depths of misery and humiliation, a condition to which the King's ill-health and fits of insanity largely contributed. The exhortations of Philippe de Mezieres were of little avail, and were probably little known at the time, which must have been in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, when this book was written, illuminated, and bound in the best French style of the period, for presentation to the young English monarch. Richard is represented on the first page sitting on his throne crowned, and surrounded by his courtiers, as the author presents him with the volume, which must have remained forgotten in one of the Royal libraries until it was presented to the nation with the rest by George IV.

Books as Gifts to Kings.

That Philippe de Mezieres should prepare a costly volume and himself offer it to King Richard brings back to our minds many such scenes in history. Books were not common as they are now. A good one was a royal gift. Even as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth we read of books being presented to her Majesty. Did she not chide Lambert, a handsome Kentish squire, because he sent her a book instead of presenting it himself? Yet that was long after the invention of printing, or the days when Elizabeth's great-grandfather, Edward IV., received a printed book from William Caxton. As to Richard II., whose taste for art would have made him a great collector in these days, we have a precise account by Froissart of the way in which an author prepared his gift and the way in which the King received it. It was on a sweet summer Sunday afternoon at Eltham, "where it was right pleasant and shady, for those galleries were all then covered with vines." "The King," Froissart goes on, as quoted from Lord Berners' translation by Mr. Newbolt, "the King desired to see my book that I had brought for him; so he saw it in his chamber, for I had laid it there ready on his bed. When the King opened it, it pleased him well, for it was fair illumined and written, and covered with crimson velvet, with ten buttons of silver and gilt, and roses of gold in the midst, with two great clasps gilt, richly wrought." We may take this passage, from "Froissart in Britain" (p. 180), with a change of name only, to suit equally poor Philippe de Mezieres' presentation of the amiable but abortive proposals of peace.

PORTRAIT OF RICHARD II. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

In Philippe's illumination King Richard is depicted as a youth, and wears a crown very

like that described above, with wide-branching trefoils, as in the Westminster Abbey and Lumley pictures, and in the diptych at Wilton. But lest we should fail to recognise the difference between the crowns of England and of France, Philippe de Mezieres provides us with a frontispiece, the joy of every student of heraldry as it was before the date when, as Burges expressed it, "like other arts in a state of decay, it became a science."

An Heraldic Treasure.

terre." The central compartment has beneath it the words, "Ihus, Roy de Paix" (Jesus, King of Peace).

Among the manuscripts in the British Museum are many which incidentally represent coronations in the pictures with which they are embellished. A few, moreover, are entirely devoted to the subject. In the Cotton collection, for example, there are many books of both kinds. One is chiefly, if not altogether, taken up with the service at Westminster when

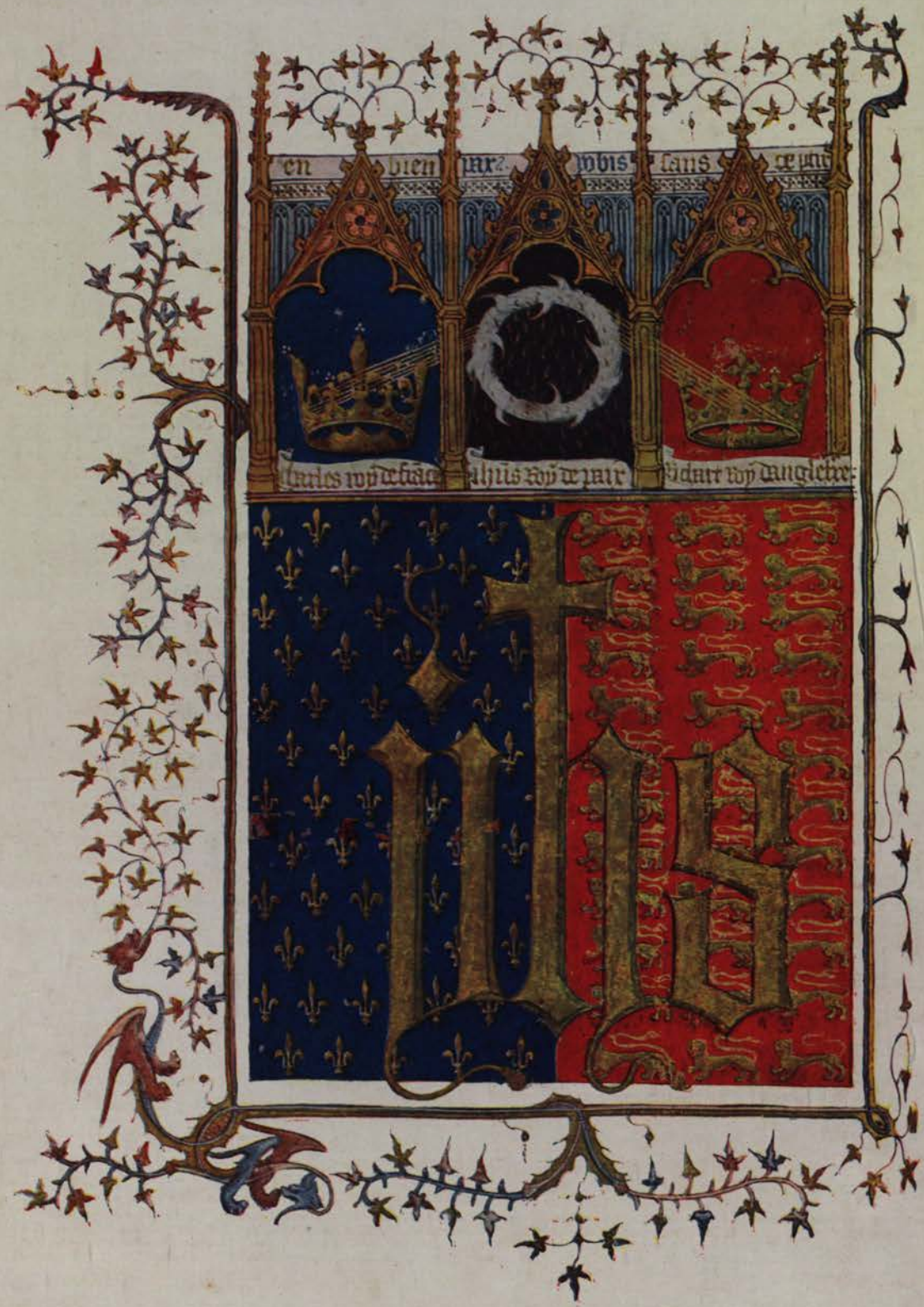
PRESENTATION OF BOOK TO RICHARD II. BY PHILIPPE DE MEZIERES.
(From a MS. in the British Museum.)

A curtain is represented painted with the arms of France on the right side, and of England on the left. Over the charges is a large "I.H.S.," most brilliantly and delicately illuminated, with the gold splendidly burnished; and above are three compartments, blue, black, and red, and on them, under three small Gothic canopies, are three crowns. That in the centre is the Crown of Thorns, white on a dark ground powdered with drops of blood. From the crown rays of gold pass into the adjoining compartments and shine on two other crowns. That on the blue ground consists of three large and two smaller *fleurs-de-lis*, and is labelled below, "Charles, roy de France." That in the red niche shows three large and two smaller trefoils, or strawberry leaves, and has below the name of "Richart, roy d'Angle-

the boy Henry III. was crowned. Another, a large and splendid volume of the "Chronicles" of Froissart, belongs to the Harleian collection, and contains a picture of the coronation of Henry IV., after Richard II. had resigned.

A French volume in the Cotton Library relates wholly to the ceremony at the accession of Charles V. of France, in 1364. It contains thirty-seven fine illuminations representing stages of the ceremony, which evidently closely resembled that used in England. The writing is of the fourteenth century, but the MS. is bound in the middle of a Pontifical of early thirteenth century writing. The pictures are well drawn and exquisitely coloured and gilt. They represent successive scenes, and follow each other with great rapidity. The King is

A French Coronation.



FRONTISPIECE TO PHILIPPE DE MEZIERES' BOOK PRESENTED TO RICHARD II. FROM THE MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

received by the Archbishop and clergy in the first—he enters the Abbey Church of St. Denis, he is sworn on the Gospels, he is seated, he takes off a brown robe and appears in red, he puts on blue socks embroidered with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, his spurs are put on, he lays his sword on the altar, it is returned, he hands it to one of the attendant princes—and so on, each scene forming a separate picture.

A Coronation MS., and the Fifth Earl of Warwick.

Among all the coronation manuscripts in the national collections there is, perhaps, none on which an Englishman may look with greater pleasure than one which boasts of no magnificent colours or brilliant gilding. This is a life of Richard, fifth Earl of Warwick of the Beauchamp family, whose splendid tomb and chapel at Warwick are familiar to all English and American tourists in the Shakespeare country. This earl seems to have impressed his contemporaries with his taste, bravery, grace, and other fine qualities; and found an enthusiastic biographer in John Rows, an artist-herald in his employment. The roll of arms which John wrote for one of the Earls of Warwick, and illustrated with the arms of the many illustrious ancestors and descendants of the Beauchamp family down to Richard III., the husband of Anne, co-heiress of Nevill and Beauchamp, has been printed in facsimile as "The Rows Roll." In it Rows says of Earl Richard that the Emperor (Sigismund), being present at the Council of Constance, called him the father of courtesy, for were all courtesy lost, he said it might have been found in his person.

In addition to this roll of arms, John Rows made the wonderful series of drawings—apparently in sepia—which illustrates the life of his hero. The Earl was Lord Steward at the coronation of Henry V., and after that King's death he was in the Council of Regency and stood by the child-king Henry VI. when he was crowned at Westminster and at St. Denis; and he died, governor of Normandy, at Rouen, in 1439, after a short illness, or as Rows describes the sad event, "the erle fel seke in the noble cyte of Roon," and died on the 30th April. The drawings show Richard in his own ship with the quartered arms of Newburgh and Beauchamp painted on the swelling sails; fighting at a tournament in the arms of his barony of Hanslap, and again in his own arms; going as ambassador to Constance, where he meets the Pope and the Emperor; and in another joust spits a German duke on his lance and wins the admiration of the Empress; defeating Owen Glendower; besieging Dam-port and Calais; negotiating the King's marriage with Katharine, daughter of the King of France; educating the youthful Henry VI., and helping to crown him at Westminster and at Paris in St. Denis; sailing from England in a great tempest to take up the government of France, and being saved after a prayer on the wave-washed deck. Some of these pictures are indescribably quaint, two or three events being delineated in one drawing, and among them being such scenes as that in Windsor Castle, when Queen Katharine, wearing a large gold crown, lies in bed while the assembled courtiers welcome the new-born prince into a world which was destined to deal so hardly with him. All are drawn with freedom and ease, some with marvellous spirit; and, though the perspective is usually faulty, the figures and faces are at least as correct as in Italian work of a full century later.

In the time of Henry VIII. and later, the modern form of the crown continued the same, except here and there where the Gothic shape has been employed, of which there are examples in the heraldic decorations of the Houses of Parliament. This crown is higher and slightly pointed, but the later form, followed in the crowns of George IV. and of Queen Victoria, had a depression in the centre instead of rising to a point, which gives the sides of the arch almost a horseshoe outline.

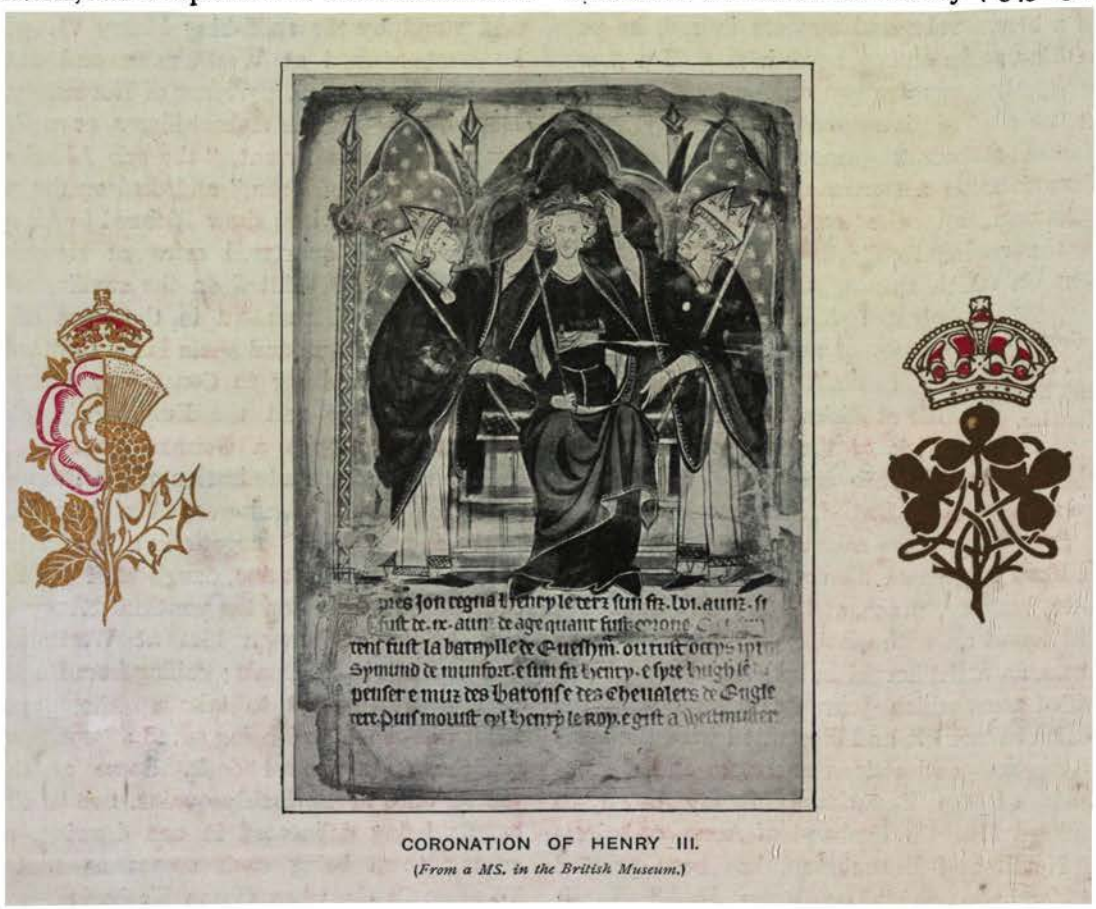
Later Tudor Crowns.

The crowns of French and German sovereigns differed, as we have seen, considerably from those used in England. The arches in the latest patterns were more numerous, as a rule, and simpler, but all varied very much at different periods. The crown of Napoleon as Emperor was very like that of the last kings of France, and was imitated by Napoleon III.

French and German Crowns.

Of all foreign crowns the Papal tiara is the most complicated—a mitre or Egyptian crown of Lower Egypt, surrounded not by one, but by three golden circlets. A full account of the triple crown would require a treatise, and might comprise a description of archiepiscopal mitres with a ducal circlet, and of the knightly plume which ornamented the mitre of the earl-bishops of Durham before 1836. In Montagu's "Heraldry" there is a picture of the mitre of Thomas of Hatfield, Bishop of Durham in the fourteenth century (1345-1381).

The Papal Tiara.



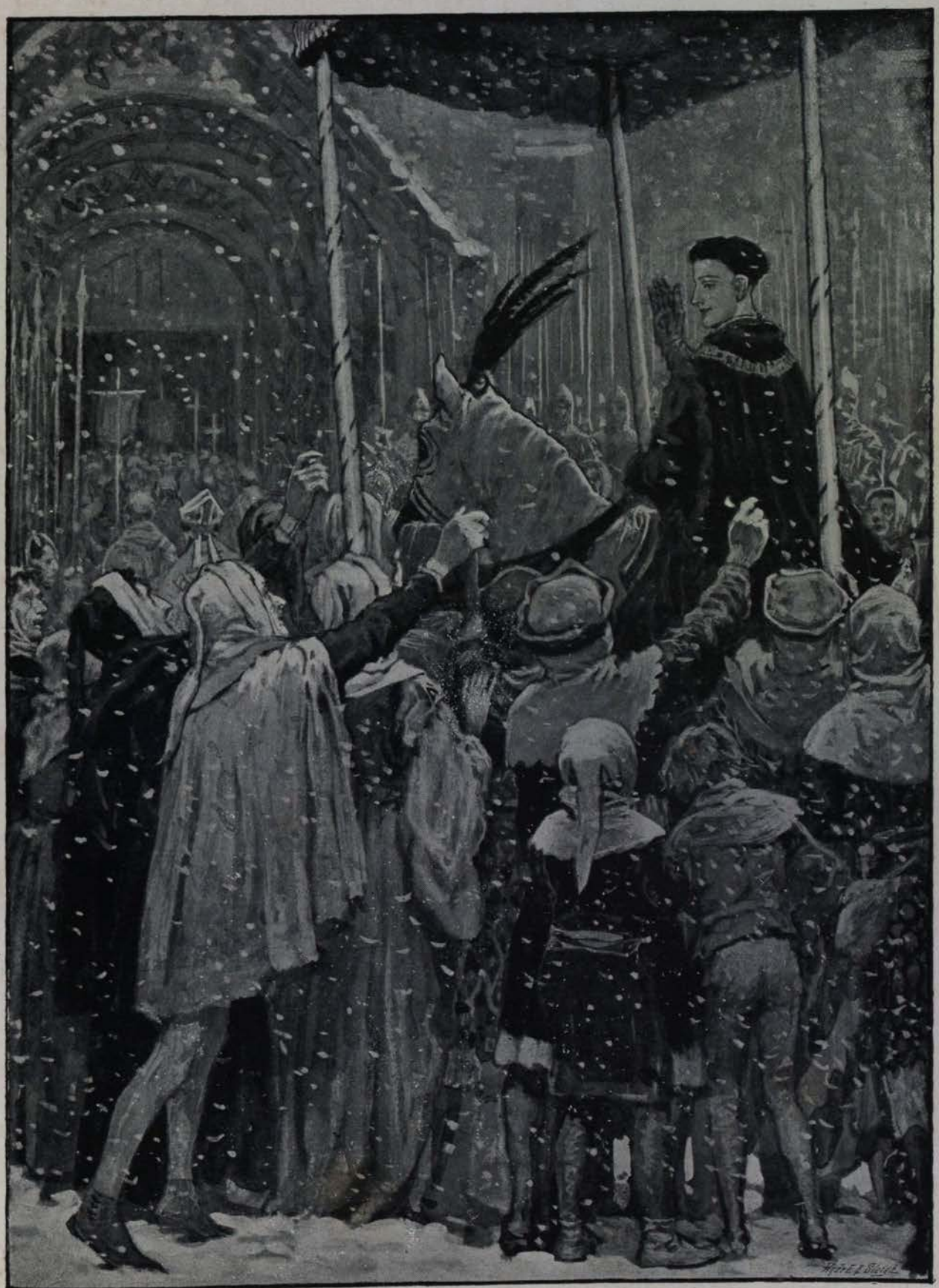
CORONATION OF HENRY III.
(From a MS. in the British Museum.)

A helmet with mantling supports a coronet of three *fleurs-de-lis*, from which a small mitre of two triangular portions rises, a single ostrich feather springing up between.

The Court of these old Bishops was like that of a Viceroy in Ireland or India. Before the reign of Henry VIII. the Bishop of Durham was addressed even by noblemen on their knees, knights stood bareheaded in the antechamber, and the Bishop's writs ran "contra pacem Episcopi," while he had power of life and death and pardon, and all fines and forfeitures came to his exchequer.

A little further on, in speaking of the stone which Edward I. brought from Scotland, we

THE CORONATION OF HENRY IV. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY. FROM THE FROISSART MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



HENRY V. ENTERING WESTMINSTER ABBEY AT HIS CORONATION.

shall have occasion to mention the "ordination" of a king. Here it may be worth while to remind the English reader that the oldest crown in our island is that preserved at Edinburgh with the regalia of the Scottish kings. It is described in the next chapter.

The Oldest Crown in Great Britain.

Almost next in importance to the crown itself is the throne. In Westminster Abbey, in the Chapel of the Confessor, fenced round by the tombs of the old kings and queens who lie buried in the mound of holy earth, stands the great Gothic chair which was made for Edward I. Barbarous sightseers in the eighteenth century, if not later, disfigured its surface with their initials, and ignorant or officious functionaries in our own time have plastered it over with varnish; but it remains substantially what it was when "the Hammer of the Scots" had it prepared for the reception and preservation of "the Stone of Destiny."

Throne of Edward I.

The chair is made of oak. It was carefully examined and described by William Burges, the architect, some forty years ago, and his illustrated account is printed in "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey." From it we gather that Burges thought the surface of the woodwork was covered in many places with "a mosaic of differently coloured glass ornamented on its upper surface with gilding." This mosaic formed a series of rectangular patterns, so arranged as to leave triangular spaces for the insertion of pieces of a different colour. The gilding was exceptionally elaborate, and must have resembled that we so often wonder at in illuminated manuscripts of the same period, showing different effects of polished and flat gold and patterns worked in "with a blunt instrument before the ground and gilding had lost their elasticity." The exterior panels were less elaborately ornamented, and a few fragments of the pattern which remain show that it consisted of diapers "of compound quatrefoils, each of which enclosed a different subject; thus in one we see a knight on horseback brandishing his

CORONATION OF HENRY VI. IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.
(From Row's Drawing in the British Museum.)

sword, in another a monster's head ending in foliage," and so on. The upper part of the back is entirely defaced; but Burges and his assistant Tracy made out indications that it bore the picture of a king seated, his feet resting on a lion. Four carved lions, lately regilt, support the corners as feet.

This magnificent throne was made at a period when English art, in spite of every difficulty in materials, had reached what many think was its highest point of perfection. That was the century which gave us Salisbury Cathedral. It was the age in which the English scriptoria yielded such treasures of writing and drawing as the great Bible in the Cottonian Library, and the so-called "Queen Mary's Psalter." In the reign of Edward I. stained glass and ivory carving and bronze casting and numberless other minor arts attained a level of simplicity and beauty unknown before or since. We like to know the name of the artist who in this chair set a pattern for the throne of England which is still followed after five hundred years, and which is in a sense an emblem of sovereignty, a kind of hieroglyph of the King. Fortunately very full particulars have been preserved. At first the chair was commissioned to be cast in bronze, but different counsels prevailed. Adam was the name of the workman to whom it was entrusted. Some of the castings had been made when the King countermanded it, and paid for what had so far been done. A chair was then made of wood, according to the same design, at a cost of 100 shillings. Next it was handed over to Master Walter, the painter, for decoration, and two small leopards were carved in wood and given to him to be painted and gilt among the ornaments. Special provision was made for placing the stone under the seat. And the whole chair was finished and paid for on the 27th March, 1300. At all coronations since then the stone and the chair have been used, as well as on an occasion almost as memorable—the Jubilee service in Westminster Abbey in 1887, when Queen Victoria returned thanks for the fifty years of her glorious reign. The similar thanksgiving ten years later was held in front of St. Paul's, when the Queen was unable, owing to the weight of years, to leave her carriage.

The Maker of the Throne.

The Decorator.

In 1887 a rumour was circulated among antiquaries that the chair had been injured by workmen during the progress of the arrangements for the Queen's Jubilee celebration in Westminster Abbey. The news turned out to be true, at least so far as it concerned the throne itself; but the culprits were the authorities of the Office of Works, who had apparently given orders that the woodwork was to be stained and varnished—"restored," in fact, as restoration has been understood of late years. So seriously was the matter taken up that a question was asked about it in the House of Commons, and the Minister responsible asserted positively that "the chair had not been in any way stained or disfigured." A few days later, however, it was observed that a workman was very busy "with detergents and rough textile stuff"—perhaps turpentine and sandpaper—rubbing and scraping the surface. Anyone who is acquainted with old oak furniture in a genuine state knows that oiling, varnishing, and above all staining, which are frequently used to make new wood acquire an antique appearance, when they have been applied to old oak cannot be taken off again without destroying the surface.

"Restoring" the Throne!

Something of this sort had happened. There could be no doubt that the chair had been stained and varnished as if it had been made of deal, and had just been purchased in Tottenham Court Road and "faked up" for the occasion in Wardour Street. In July of the same year, 1887, the question was repeated in the House, when the Minister replied, as recorded by Mr. Hilton, "It is true that the chair was slightly darkened, that he was in error in what he had before said; but that what had been done was easily undone, and that the chair was now in substance exactly as it was before."

Unfortunately, this statement was almost as erroneous as that which it was intended to correct. The old surface was gone. Two curious results appear to have followed. One was the final obliteration of the remains of Adam's carvings and Walter's decorations; and, secondly, while these most interesting traces of old work, such as Burges and Tracy described as still visible in 1863, were destroyed, the names and initials cut in the wood by

Westminster schoolboys and others are now more disagreeably conspicuous than they were before.

The throne, standing in St. Edward's Chapel, was often called St. Edward's, rather than King Edward's, as it is in the following entry of decorations on the occasion of its use by Queen Elizabeth: "Cloth of silver incarnate, for covering St. Edward's Chair, 18½ yards." There is evidence that the chair was used by the celebrant when mass was sung in the chapel.

The chair fashioned by Adam, the goldsmith, and decorated by Walter, the painter, still contains, on a kind of shelf under the seat, the stone brought by King Edward from Scotland in 1296. In the reign of Edward's ill-fated son the Battle of Bannockburn and the subsequent acknowledgment of Scottish independence led to an attempt being made to restore the stone to Scotland. Apparently matters had gone so far that in July, 1328, Edward III., then a mere boy who had but just taken his seat on his father's and grandfather's throne, consented to its restitution, and a writ was issued to the Lord Abbot of Westminster and his monks to deliver the stone to the Sheriffs of London, who were to hand it over to the Queen Mother to transmit to Scotland. Queen Elinor probably resided at this time in Lombard Street, and was still under the influence of Mortimer. Some delay seems to have occurred; and when, a year and a half later, Edward III. shook off the paralysing tyranny of his mother and her lover the writ had not been acted upon, and probably became a dead letter.

The Stone of Destiny.

So the Stone of Destiny remains under the throne of the English sovereigns at Westminster.

It has always, like London Stone, and the stone at Kingston-on-Thames, been an object of interest to antiquaries, as well as to a numerous class who prefer legend to fact, and who darken history with unfounded or half-founded theories. Mr. James Hilton, who wrote an interesting account of the Coronation Stone for the Royal Archæological Institute in 1897, the year of the so-called Diamond Jubilee, has concisely summed up the story. "It rests," he says, "on an assemblage of legend, fable, and fact; the smallest of these elements is the last, if it be possible to assign an intelligible measure to either."

From Mr. Hilton's pages and other sources we may take the legend of the Stone of Destiny. It will remind many readers of the equally romantic legend of the true Cross, alluded to already. The wood of the Cross had, indeed, an earlier origin, for it grew from seed

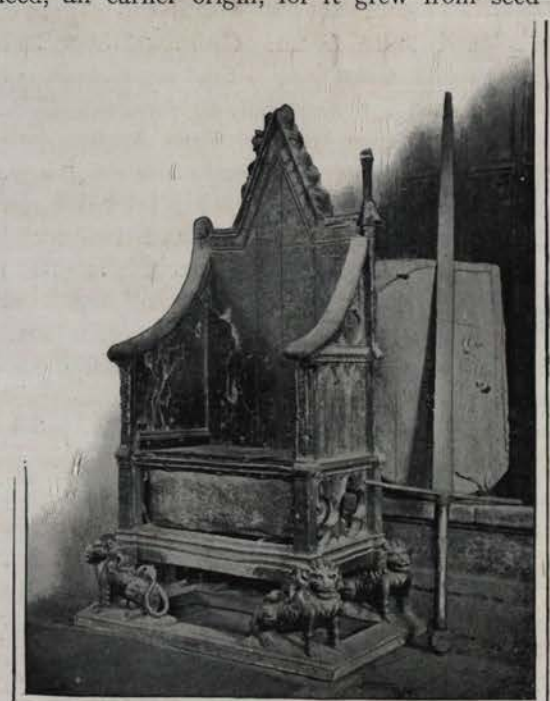


Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill, W.

THE CORONATION CHAIR.

which Adam brought with him when he fled from Eden! Still, there is a sufficiently ancient beginning to the stone if we say that it was found by Jacob when he "went out from Beersheba and went toward Haran." He lighted, we read, upon a certain place, and he took one of the stones of that place, and when he lay down to rest he put it under his head.

The Legend of the Stone.

on the sacred hill of Tara it became known as Lia Fail, "the Stone of Fate." Simon "the Wolf" was crowned upon it "in the year of the world," according to Holinshed, 3270, and after him other kings; until Fergus, whom the chronicler calls "Fergusius," the founder of the Scottish monarchy, took it to Dunstaffnage, and there "was placed upon his marble stone and crowned King in the year after the

Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill, W.

CHAPEL AND SHRINE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

While resting on this rocky pillow he saw the vision of the ladder "set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to Heaven." And, a little further on, he made use of the expression applied by some mediæval monk to Westminster Abbey upon Thorney Island, "How dreadful is this place!"

From Bethel the stone migrated—we are not told how—to Egypt, where it belonged to Pharaoh until that monarch was drowned in the Red Sea; and thence by Gathelus, the son of Cecrops, who had married Scota, Pharaoh's daughter, it was taken to Sicily. Thence it went to Spain, where Gathelus founded Compostella; and Simon "the Wolf," the son of Milo the Scot, headed the Milesian migration to Ireland. On his voyage he used the stone for an anchor, as Nile boatmen use a stone to this day, and

creation of the world 3640." Many successive kings followed, until St. Columba consecrated Aidan, as mentioned already.

An account of the "ordination" of Aidan is quoted by Mr. Legg from the Life of St. Columba by Abbot Adamnan, of Iona. St. Adamnan, as he is called, wrote in the last quarter of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth, so that his narrative must be almost, if not quite, the earliest possible, for it is from this date that Scotland can be called Christian. The manuscript from which Mr. Legg quotes is only of the thirteenth century; but Dr. Reeves's translation from an older source is the same, and there is no reason to doubt that the Abbot wrote what he believed himself, though he begins with the despatch of an angel to summon

Consecration of Aidan.

St. Columba from the Island of Hinba. The angel held in his hand a book of glass, regarding the appointment of kings. The saint reluctantly obeyed the heavenly messenger, and, having sailed across to Iona, he there ordained, as he had been commanded, Aidan to be King, laying his hand upon his head and consecrating and blessing him. Some writers say that Columba, dying, laid his head on the stone, which he recognised as Jacob's pillow.

Arrival of the Stone at Scone.

Kenneth II., who was King of Albion in 834, had brought the stone from Argyll to Scone, where he placed it upon a raised piece of ground at the spot where he had gained a victory over the Picts. Some writers have recorded certain very barbarous rhyming Latin verses, which they say this King Kenneth caused to be placed on the stone. Burges says there is "a rectangular groove, 1 ft. 2 in. by 9 in., on the upper surface, which may probably have received an engraved plate of metal." The verses ran thus :—

"Ni fallat fatum Scoti quocunque locatum
Invenient lapidem regnare tenentur ibidem."

Sir Walter Scott translated them thus :—

"Unless the fates be faithless grown
And prophet's voice be vain,
Where'er is found this sacred stone
The Scottish race shall reign."

Mr. Hilton offers another way of it, which is more literal :—

"If fates gó right, where'er this stone is found
The Scots shall monarch of that realm be crowned."

And he adds: "A prophecy which was fulfilled when James VI. of Scotland succeeded to the throne of England as James I., and was crowned at Westminster, where the stone was ready for him."

We may take advantage still further of Mr. Hilton's labours to elucidate the whole story of the Stone of Fate.

The Stone in History.

It is but seldom mentioned in authentic history. The older chroniclers either did not know of it and its origin, or have assumed that all their readers would understand by the record of a king having been crowned at Scone that he had been crowned sitting on the Stone of Destiny. It does not seem, however, that any Scottish historian specially mentions it, except Fordun, who, writing between 1386 and 1389—that is, nearly a century after it had been placed in Westminster Abbey by Edward I.—says: "A stone of marble, shaped like a chair, was brought up by an anchor cast in the sea off Ireland." Skene, an eminent and judicious Scottish antiquary, not long dead, took much pains to investigate both the actual and the fabulous history of the stone; he came to the conclusion that there was no connection between this stone at Scone and that at Tara in Ireland, and that "the legends of their wanderings are nothing but myth and fable."

Dean Stanley describes the place where the stone stood at Scone. It was encased, as at Westminster, in a chair of wood, and on a knoll called "the Mount of Belief," east of the monastic cemetery, where there was a cross, it stood for centuries, marking the "sedes principalis" of Scotland. The office of the Earls of Fife was to place the new king upon it at the coronation; and here the last King of Scotland before the stone was taken away, namely John Balliol, was crowned in 1292, as mentioned by an English chronicler, William of Rishanger.

After the stone had departed, the Scottish kings continued to be crowned at Scone, taking their seat on a stone chair or throne, on which it would appear that the Stone of Destiny had been specially placed for the ceremony before 1296. It is recorded that Edward I. only spent one day at Perth on his way back from Elgin, and must have visited Scone at the time and helped himself at once to the stone. The late Joseph Hunter speaks of him as a religious, not to say a superstitious, person, a crusader and pilgrim, who stored among his most precious possessions "two pieces of the rock of Calvary," which were presented to him by one Robert Ailward. It is not improbable that to his mind the stone was sacred "as part of the piece of cyclopean architecture" which Jacob erected where he had seen the vision.

Where was the Stone Hewn?

It is curious to remark how often the stone is described as marble. It is really a piece of hard red sandstone, such as occurs in many places in Scotland, and especially in Argyllshire, where its authentic history may be said to begin. Professor Ramsay, Professor Geikie, and many other competent

QUEEN VICTORIA IN THE CORONATION CHAIR AT THE MOMENT OF BEING CROWNED AFTER THE PAINTING BY E. T. PARRIS. FROM AN ENGRAVING OF 1840 BY WAGSTAFFE.

geologists have testified to its being of native Scottish origin, quarried in the district between the Tay and the Forth. Ramsay adds that it could hardly have belonged originally to the rocks round Bethel, "since, according to all credible reports, they are formed of strata of limestone."

Professor Ramsay describes an inspection of the stone by Dean Stanley at which he was

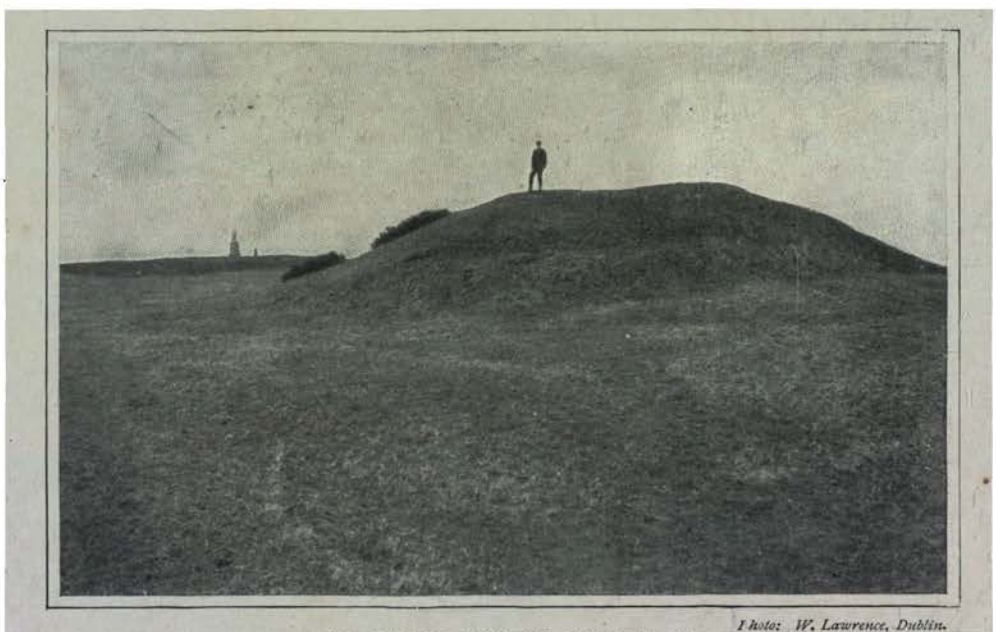


Photo: W. Lawrence, Dublin.

THE SACRED HILL OF TARA (*p.* 23).

present, and, as the result of a chemical examination, declares it to be extremely improbable that it comes "from any of the rocks of the Hill of Tara." They are of the carboniferous age, and do not present the texture or red colour characteristic of the Coronation Stone.

Neither can Ramsay derive the stone from Iona, where the rocks consist of a flaggy micaceous grit or gneiss. We have seen what he said of Bethel, and it only remains to notice his remarks about the suggested Egyptian origin of the stone. Here his sagacity was plainly at fault. He says: "The rocks of Egypt, so far as I know, consist chiefly of nummulitic limestone, of which the Great Pyramid is built; and, though we know of crystalline rocks, such as syenite, etc., in Egypt, I have never heard of any strata occurring there similar to the red sandstone of the Coronation Stone."

This assertion is unfortunate. All Nile tourists will remember the sandstone stratum which actually crosses the river at Silsileh, and at no very remote period formed a barrier and cataract there, 541 miles south of Cairo. The stone here is very light in colour; but a brief examination of the quarries on either side shows red veins in many places, and the stone in such places is comparatively much harder than where it is whiter. In fact, the two famous statues on the plain of Thebes, one of which was known to the Greeks as the "Vocal Memnon," are made of a red sandstone of considerable hardness. A headless statuette of the same stone is in the British Museum, and is chiefly interesting as bearing the name of the heretic King Amenhetep IV., who reigned in Egypt next after the king who set up the Memnon, namely about B.C. 1700, or soon after the date usually assigned to Abraham.

The Egyptian sandstone is carefully described by Mr. Hilton. It varies greatly both in hardness and colour, and he concludes:—

"Canon Tristram, in his works 'The Land of Moab' and 'The Land of Israel,' states that the old red sandstone formation prevails in Moab on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, very different from the sandstone on the western side, which he says is of the new red formation."

This brings us back very much to where

we were before the researches of Professor Ramsay and Dean Stanley. So far as geological evidence is concerned, the Stone of Destiny cannot have been quarried in Iona or in Ireland, but may have come from Bethel or from Dunstaffnage or from Egypt. It is not necessary to make up our minds on the subject, especially while the evidence either way is so vague and so contradictory. The absence of all mention of the stone in Scottish chronicles before Edward I. brought it into prominence is curious, and seems to bid us suspend our judgment until we know more; but to those who are of a sceptical turn, and to those who remember how often the prettiest legends in our history have turned out untrustworthy, it will appear safest to remark that since Edward II. was crowned on the Stone of Scone all our sovereigns have in turn occupied the same venerable throne, with the sole exception of Edward V. and, we should add, Queen Jane.

The same writer, Mr. Hilton, from whom we have already received so much instruction, gives several amusing examples of the way in which some people have run away with the subject. One of these was the author of a tract which bears this title: "A brief account of His Sacred Majestie's descent in a true Line from King Ethodius the First, who began to reign Anno Christi 162." This is dated in 1681, that is during the lifetime of Charles II. His purpose was to show that the rhyming couplet said to have been inscribed on the stone contained a chronogram—a date expressed in Roman numerals by certain letters, every letter which is a numeral being brought into the calculation. It reminds us of the Baconian cipher concealed in Shakespeare's plays. But this is by no means all. Mr. Hilton has found a work by a lady, "The Coronation Stone and England's Interest in It," of which the fifth edition was published only some fourteen years ago, in which it is "proved" that the stone is really Jacob's pillow, and that "therefore" Queen Victoria was entitled to reign over the United Kingdom!

A Plea for Suspense of Judgment.

It may be worth while here to quote Hunter's remarks on the stone. In an age when we try everything by new standards, and habitually distrust everything we cannot prove, it is refreshing, or at least unaccustomed, to read his most moderate and judicious opinion. "Few in this instance will contend," he observes, "for the dates, or for the existence even of the person who is said to have brought it from Egypt; but there is nothing which violently shocks the sense of probability and the regard which all must cherish for maintaining the truth of history in supposing that some Christian devotee, in perhaps the second, third, or fourth century, brought this stone from the stony territory of the plain of Luz, having persuaded himself that it was the very stone on which the head of the patriarch had rested when he saw the vision of angels; or had even become possessed of the very stone which is said to have been preserved in the Holy of Holies of the second Temple at Jerusalem, with the tradition that it had been Jacob's pillow. Where is the improbability that when the Temple was destroyed this stone should pass into the hands of a devotee, to be preserved by him, as the altar of the church at Doncaster was preserved by Thridwulf in the wood of Elmete, when the church was burnt by the Pagans? Once in the possession of such a person, it would be cherished by him as King Edward cherished the portions of the rock of Calvary which

were presented to him, or as his uncle the King of the Romans cherished the Christian reliques of the most sacred character which he brought to England. Once preserved and venerated, nothing is more probable than that it should at length be found in Galicia, where Christianity took deep root in the very earliest ages of the Church. There is no natural impossibility in its passing thence into Ireland, the land of saints, and where races of people have claimed a Spanish origin, and from thence to Scotland. That it there became allied to Royalty is but in accordance with what appears to have been the usages of the island —the stone at Kingston-upon-Thames being connected in popular tradition with the Coronation of Saxon kings known to have been performed there."

Kingston has been mentioned several times in the foregoing pages. It is now a town of about 30,000 inhabitants, delightfully situated on the right bank of the Thames in Surrey, opposite to the gardens and parks of Hampton Court, and close to the great Surrey park of Richmond. In the old records we find it described in Latin by the Kings of Wessex as "the town which in English is called Kingestone." This form of the name, which occurs in a charter granted by King Athelstan on the 15th December, 933, has been taken to mean "King's Stone." If this chanced to be the earliest mention of the place it would give some colour to this notion; but we have at least three authentic passages of greater antiquity to guide us to a different conclusion. The first is that in a charter of Egbert, which, though it is dated in 838, is probably at least a year earlier—for dates are often very questionable in these ancient documents. In it the King speaks of "that famous place which is called King's town." A century later King Edred speaks of it as "the town which is called the King's, namely King's town."

Kingston-on-Thames.

King's Town, or King's Stone?

It is well to clear the ground, then, by making up our minds, with the best authorities, that the place was not called after a stone on which kings sat at their hallowing; but was called after the king on whose manor it was situated, and who had there a palace, as we should say, or perhaps a fortified house at a convenient spot just beyond the influence of the tide, which ran up the Thames as far as Teddington, then called Totington, only a mile and a half farther down.

The best guide as to Coronations at Kingston is Lysons, an antiquary and historian who seldom allowed such theories as that just mentioned to influence his judgment. We have seen the futility of one of these theories; we have now to examine another. Leland, in the wonderful English of his "Itinerary," whose wild orthography seems to foreshadow the terrible fate which overtook him when he was locked up as a lunatic a few years later—we shudder to think of the treatment of the insane under the gentle rule of Henry VIII.—Leland says shrewdly of Kingston: "The tounisch men have certen knowledge of a few Kinges crounid there afore the conqueste." They naturally wished to make the most of their town; but of contemporary evidence, or anything like contemporary evidence, we have only two entries in some copies of the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." From them we gather that Athelstan in 925 and Ethelred (the Unready) in 979 were both "hallowed to King" at Kingston.

Coronations at Kingston.

This modest assertion by no means satisfies the pride of "the townish men" of the royal manor. Of several other kings we have old evidence, not contemporary, and of several more nothing more trustworthy than local tradition. As the question seems never to have been settled or even seriously examined, we may try to make for ourselves a list of kings probably crowned at Kingston, and another of kings possibly crowned there. Lysons sums up the authorities, and we need not spend much time over them. Besides the two kings, Athelstan and Ethelred, mentioned in the "Chronicle," we have the names of Edward,

Edmund, Edred, Edwy, Edward (the Martyr), and Edgar. Of these Edward the Elder, the son of King Alfred the Great, in 901; Edmund "the Magnificent," the successor of Athelstan, in 940; Edred, in 946; Edwy, in 955; and Edward the Martyr, in 975, are named by Ralph "Diceto," the Dean of St. Paul's, who wrote in the first years of the thirteenth century, two hundred years or more after the death of the last of them. Only the cult by the hopeless attempts of many writers to exaggerate its claims. Some view in it a Druidical altar. I confess I do not know what a Druidical altar is; but allowing the term for a moment, we may ask by what marks can such a monument be recognised? And, secondly, when we have recognised the stone, how are we to account for its having stood in a Christian church, and having been

The Stone at the King's Town.

THE STONE AT KINGSTON-ON-THAMES.

Dean's remarkable reputation for historical trustworthiness supports the probability that these five kings were crowned at Kingston. Of one more, Edgar, we read in some old chronicles, as for example Holinshed, that he was crowned here; but all the authorities are against it, though possibly, as he was already King or Under-king of the Mercians, he may have been hallowed to that throne at Kingston.

Thus, then, we are certain that two kings were crowned at Kingston, because they are mentioned in the "Chronicle"; of five more, claimed by the townish men, the chief evidence is based on the general faith in the veracity of Dean Ralph Diceto; and of one it only amounts to a possibility that he was here hallowed to reign over Mercia under the King of England.

As to the stone there is something to be said, and that something is made more difficult used at the "ordination"—the hallowing—of Christian kings?

No answers are forthcoming to such questions, and the inquiry as to the Druidical origin of the Kingston stone is hardly worth pursuing.

It may, however, be more pertinent to ask if there is any clear evidence that the stone was ever used as a seat, was ever regarded as the stone at Westminster was and is regarded? To this question the only possible answer is that no such evidence has ever been produced. As long as we believed that the name of the place was "King's Stone" or "Kings' Stone" we could ask, "Where is the stone?" and this one afforded the answer. At Maidstone, which we used to hear was the Maid's Stone, a virgin martyr was invented, who, however, faded into thin air when it was demonstrated that "mead," not "maid," was the true orthography.

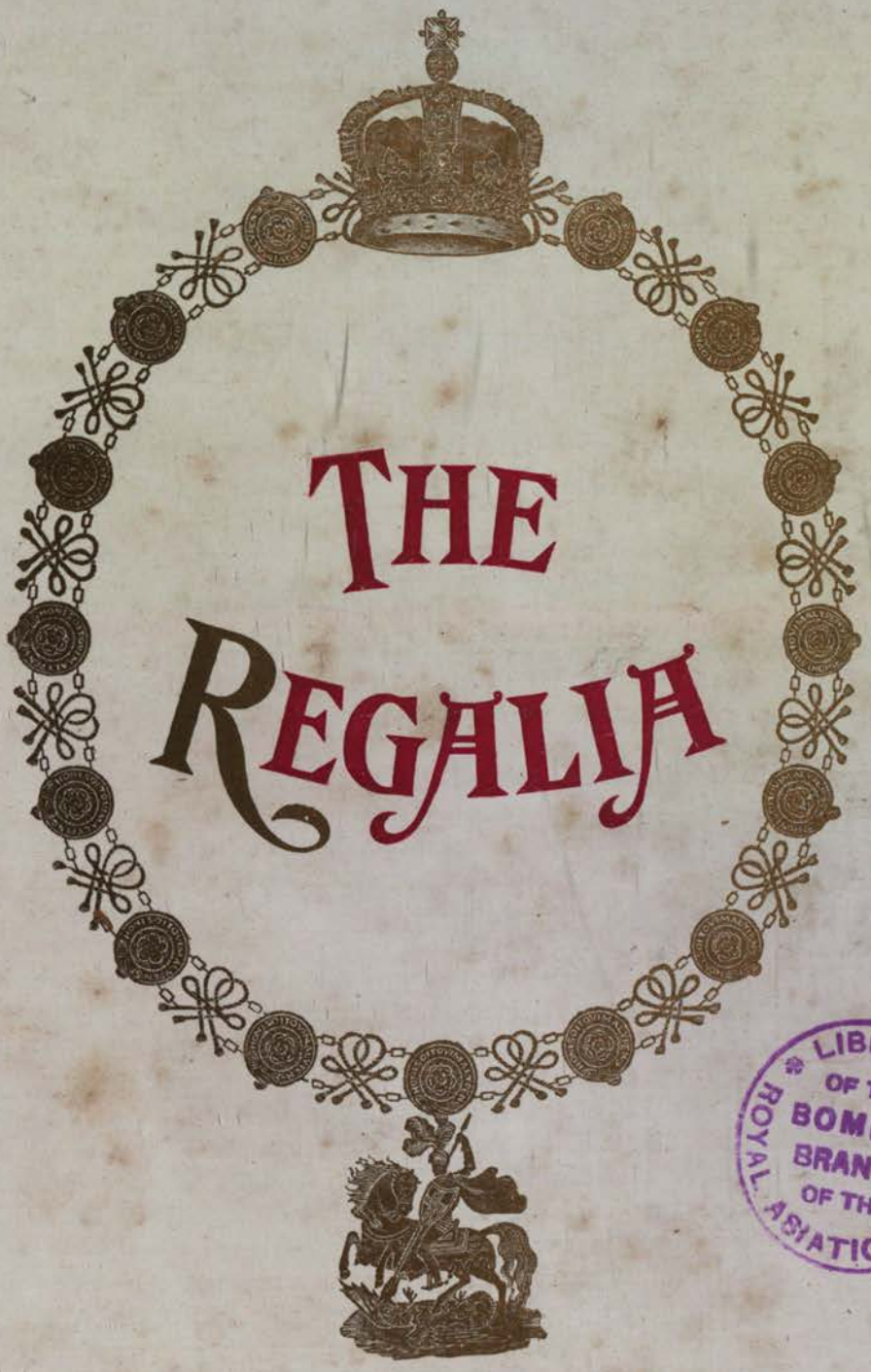
The stone seat—stone seats may still be seen in hundreds of English churches, and as seats of special dignity in Canterbury, Norwich, and many other cathedrals—stood in a side chapel of the parish church of All Saints. It may very well have been primarily a seat for a priest, as the Westminster chair was used by the celebrant during mass in St. Edward's Chapel. To it at a certain place in the "ordination" service the King was conducted. If it was not an ordinary stone seat, it may have been a place on which the King stood. Such pedestals occur in the case of Coronations both in Ireland and on the Continent. Whether as standing-stone or seat it was probably preserved by the priests and people as a relic of the Coronations—however many or few—which undoubtedly took place here. That it had any greater title to veneration may safely be doubted, if not positively denied.

The later history of the seat is curious and interesting. The chapel became greatly dilapidated in the course of ages. Lysons, writing in or before 1791, described it briefly: "On the south side of the church stood the chapel of St. Mary, in which it is said that some of the Saxon monarchs were crowned." He quotes from Aubrey in a footnote: "On the walls of the chapel were pictures of these Saxon monarchs, and of King John." Lysons goes on: "This chapel, of which there is an engraving by Vertue, fell down in the year 1730, and the sexton, his daughter, and another person were buried in the ruins." The sexton, Abram Hammerton, perished, as did the other person, who was named Richard Milis. Hester, the sexton's daughter, was dug out alive. She was given her father's office, and her portrait was engraved, and shows her with a mattock across her shoulder and her hand on a skull. She survived till 1746.

The Stone Broken to Pieces.

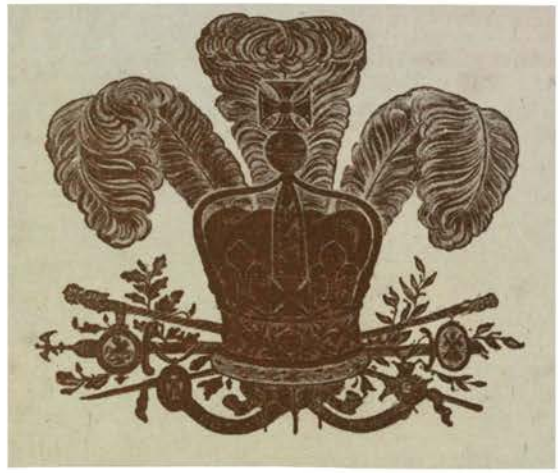
On this occasion it was, no doubt, that the stone seat was broken to pieces; but a fragment which survived has been preserved in the market place. It was recorded on some of the pictures in the chapel that certain kings were crowned in the chapel and others in the market place, but, says Lysons, "I find no mention of the particular spot in any of the old chronicles." How the stone was identified we do not learn, either. Perhaps Hester Hammerton recognised it! Another stone, part of a column which stood by the grave which Milis and the sexton were digging in the chapel when it fell, seems to have saved her from the fate which overtook the others, and was preserved in the church with an inscription, "Life preserved, 1731." This date refers to the time at which the stone was set up and inscribed.

The fragment of the other stone, that which represents the standing-stone or seat of the Saxon kings, is an irregularly shaped block of limestone. It seems to have been kept in the yard of the Town Hall until 1850, when it was set up in the Market Place, mounted on a granite base, and, later on, surrounded by an iron railing with a stone pillar at each of the seven corners. A coin of one of the kings supposed to have been crowned at Kingston is let into each column.



THE REGALIA

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.



CHAPTER II.

THE REGALIA.

The Crown Jewels—The Jewel Tower—The Royal Treasuries—Crowns of Queen Edith and King Alfred—The Skins on the Door of Westminster Abbey: the True Story—Inventory of the Regalia in 1649—The Mildmays—The Regalia Destroyed—The Inventory—Crowns of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria—Where were the Jewel Houses?—The Restoration—Perquisites of the Master of the Jewel House—Charles II. and Sir Gilbert Talbot—How Charles Treated His Bankers—The New Regalia and What it Cost—Colonel Blood's Attempt on the Regalia and its Sequel—The Present Regalia—The Stones in Queen Victoria's Crown—King Edward's Ring—Queen Victoria's Crown—The Scottish Regalia—Story of a Ring.

THE collection of gold, silver, and precious stones forming the English Regalia has for the most part but a short history. But for the names attached to many of the objects exhibited in the Wakefield Tower of the Tower of London, they would not be of so much interest. There is little of antiquity about them—little of curious or skilled workmanship. But the names carry us back, and some of them are connected in our minds with the history of the past three centuries. James I. received the old Crown Jewels from the hands of the careful Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors. They perished with his son. Those we now see, with a few noteworthy exceptions, are what were prepared for the Coronation of his grandson, Charles II., in 1661. Of some pieces we know that they were imitated from the traditional patterns; of others we only know that they are of the later Stuart period, that, namely, which came after the Restoration.

Scarcity of Old Plate.

Gold and silver plate, except in some semi-public collections like those of colleges, of municipalities, or of companies, seldom dates before the Great Rebellion. In fact, at sales and other places, silver catalogued as of the "Queen Anne" period is usually looked upon as of the highest antiquity likely to occur; while pieces designed and wrought by Paul Lamerie, in the reigns of George I. and George II., have what can only be described as a fancy value.

The reason for this scarcity of older silver may be found in the same circumstances which caused the destruction of the ancient regalia. During the Civil War much family and corporation plate was coined into money. Much also was plundered from old mansions, castles, and palaces by both combatants, and much church, chapel, and college plate by the combatants of one side. It was not to be expected that the men who systematically plundered and destroyed the churches on their line of march would respect the less sacred Royal stores in the Tower. As Sir Henry Ellis remarked, in editing a long record of such destructions in rural parts of England, a

feature in all such records is "the strange and ceaseless union of outrage with religion. Atrocities of the worst kind," he continues, "were constantly followed by 'a famous,' 'a worthy,' 'a godly,' or 'a heavenly sermon,' preached by one or other of the spiritual trumpeters of the time." Everything treasured by Churchmen, or even by such Dissenters as did not hold the exact shade of doctrine received by the fanatics of the then dominant party, was only fit for the fire. We read over and over again such sentences as this: "This day, also, the soldiers got into the church, defaced the ancient and sacred glazed pictures, and burned the holy rails." In such places they did not even spare the linen or the academical vestments. At one village they took the surplice to make handkerchiefs out of it, and one of the soldiers wore it in mockery till they cut it up. When things of this kind were going on everywhere, it is not to be expected that the wild enthusiasts who had gained the upper hand in London as early as 1642 would hesitate to break up and disperse the regalia in the Tower when it lay at their mercy.

When the Regalia was Destroyed.

Of this transaction, which took place in the autumn of the year which saw the death of Charles I. at Whitehall, very complete particulars have been preserved. We can read, with regret and hopeless longing, what were the treasures of the Jewel House, and, indeed, the only satisfaction it is possible to feel in looking at this wanton and wasteful act of the Parliamentary party is that they sacrificed for little more than a nominal sum—the mere weight in gold or silver, and often for much less than that—works of art and antiquity worth even, at that day, ten or perhaps twenty times what they obtained. Judging only by such a relic as the Lord Mayor's staff of office, which has been preserved since the thirteenth century, if not much longer, some of the sceptres must have been literally invaluable, and the same must be said of the golden cups and beakers, and the jewelled vessels, made of precious crystal or agate. In short, the destruction of wealth, and that too at a time when the precious metals were at a high premium in England on the conclusion of the Civil War, seems to betray on the part of the Commonwealth Government a sectarian and political spite that was simply childish. In the new regalia we miss the accumulations of useless, but really curious, artistic, and often historically interesting items which had been gathered by successive kings. There was a prodigality, a waste, no doubt, of rarity, and curiosity, and artistic workmanship; but what would we not give now for a sight even of some of the least considered trifles which were then discarded as worthless! Very little of what was then condemned can have escaped destruction. We may be sure that the so-called "contractors" of the Parliamentary committee were carefully chosen as men certain to carry out the fell purpose. What did survive in a dealer's hands might have subjected him to suspicion; and what was exported lost its historical association and its identity.

The Royal Treasuries.

At a remote period the royal treasures, even those intended solely for coronations, seem to have been divided. Some must have long remained at Winchester, where the Confessor was crowned. Harold and his conqueror were both crowned at Westminster, and it is possible that the crowns preserved there, and named after King Alfred and Queen Edith, were of the Norman period. They have already been described. The names which were attached to them are of no authority. The "cultus," so to speak, of Edward the Confessor had attained great dimensions by the time of Henry III., and we should not be surprised if the crowns in the custody of the monks had been attributed to him and, ignorantly, to his queen, the Lady Edith, who was never crowned. The Abbot of Winchester probably retained an old crown, commemorative of the anointing in his cathedral church of "Edward III." of that name in the old English line. But there was another king who as far as possible, both in the City of London, which had elected him to the throne, and also at Westminster, endeavoured to identify himself with English ideas and English interests.

Crown of Queen Edith and King Alfred.

This king, Henry I., was crowned at Westminster, as his father and his elder brother had been, and probably in some haste and without much preparation. The same crown which had sat so unsteadily on Harold's brow probably did duty on the three subsequent occasions; but when King Henry married it was his policy to

ARMS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

ARMS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

make the most of the strain of the old blood royal—of whatever sanctity attached in the minds of the people to the house of Alfred; and so Edith, his wife, and the crown which was made for her and which at her coronation and change of name was placed upon her head by Archbishop Anselm, became itself a sacred thing, and was preserved together with her old English name. That the two crowns, then, in the custody of the Abbot and monks and subsequently of the dean and chapter of Westminster, should have been respectively labelled that of King Alfred and that of Queen Edith, his descendant, through whom ever since the kings and queens of England have traced their ancestry to Egbert, is not much to be wondered at.

This is, of course, mainly conjecture. But as a working theory, at least until a better one can be made, it is worth stating here. The Queen's coronation was a great solemnity, celebrated with all the pomp of which the State was capable. The space devoted to it in so terse a narrative as that of the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" would suffice to prove it. The record closes with mention of the fact that "she [the Queen] was given to him [the King] with much worship at Westminster, and the Archbishop Ansealm her to him he wedded and afterwards her to queen hallowed." Nothing was omitted to give importance to a great occasion.

Coronation of Queen Edith.

But apart from the actual instruments of the coronation ceremonial, the King's treasures were stored in various places of safe keeping. Among those of which we hear were the cellars of the Confessor's building at Westminster Abbey, where the chapel of the Pyx is well known still, opening from the plain round-arched walk adjoining the later cloister. Here certain important objects were stored, known as the standards of weights and measurement, as well as of coinage and documents. An ancient tower, still used, stands behind the front row of houses in Old Palace Yard, where such useful objects could be shown. In addition, down at least to the time of King Edward I., certain jewels of great price were in the custody of the Abbot and monks, and were placed in one of the strong vaults in the older part of the conventual buildings. Of one of these chambers a most interesting account was contributed by Sir Gilbert Scott and Mr. Burtt to the well-known volume of "Gleanings." The archway which led to it is described by an old author, Dart, as holding three separate doors, of which the middle one, which was very thick, was "lined with skins like parchment and driven full of nails." Dart believed them to be the skins of Danes, "given here as a memorial of our delivery from them." A tragedy of much later date was in reality associated with these tanned hides, and was identified as that of Podelicote.

Treasures Stored at Westminster.

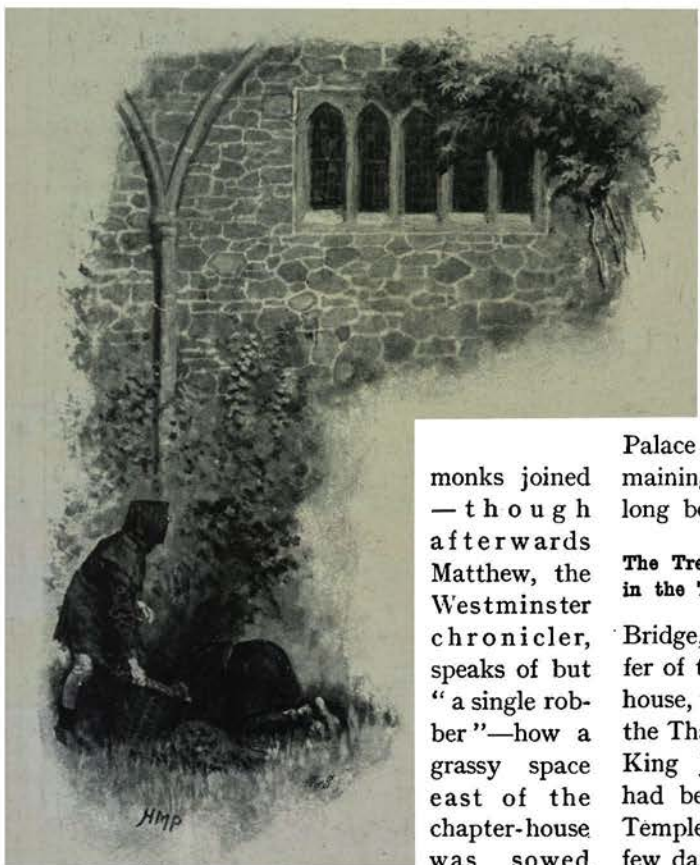
The Skins on the Door in the Abbey.

Some time in May, 1303, one Richard Podelicote, a merchant, who travelled much to the Low Countries on business connected with trade in such English products as wool and cheese, contrived to confuse his accounts, which, as the event proves, were probably dishonestly kept. He was arrested for a small debt and brought before the King's court, sitting probably in the precincts of the Abbey. Here during his detention he saw the fine silver dishes and vessels which were being carried to and from the Lord Abbot's table. He coveted, as he said in his confession, these cups and spoons and mazers. A very little exertion enabled him to help himself to six cups and more than thirty spoons, besides some mazers or drinking cups made of maple root, mounted in gold or silver, favourite utensils when glass and porcelain were almost unknown.

The True Story.

THE JEWELS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

Upon his plunder he contrived to live till after Christmas, when he bethought himself of a visit to the King's treasury. The story is told at full length by the late Sir Walter Besant in his "Westminster." How the sacristy fell into Podelicote's scheme; how other monks joined—though afterwards Matthew, the Westminster chronicler, speaks of but "a single robber"—how a grassy space east of the chapter-house was sowed with hemp so that a simple place of concealment would be provided when the tall plants grew up; how the treasures were gradually removed, some to the river side, some by individuals who were in the plot; how one monk bought a horse and fine clothes and weapons; how another threatened to kill a brother if he betrayed the design, and so on, till Edward I., then far away at Linlithgow, heard of it all, and the Mayor of London, with other great officials, having received the King's orders, arrived at the Abbey, opened the three fatal doors, clapped forty of the monks and forty other folk into the Tower, hanged Podelicote and his immediate confederates, and nailed their skins where they may be seen (with a microscope) to this day. As Dean Stanley tells us, "Inside and outside of the door by which this passage is entered is nailed the skin of a fair-haired, ruddy-complexioned man." A similar adornment used to be seen at Rochester, on the west door of the cathedral, where it was seen by Pepys; also at Worcester Cathedral, described as the skin of a pirate taken in the Thames. What most concerns us here is that from the time of this affair the King's chief jewels were kept in the Tower of London.



ROBBING THE KING'S TREASURY AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

This chapel of the Pyx, according to Mr. Henry Harrod, whose account supplements and corrects all the others, was but one of the vaults used for storage at Westminster, and the treasury robbed in 1303 was that which lay under the Chapter House, and was in close propinquity to the wall dividing the Abbey from the Palace precincts and from the Tower still remaining near the Canons' Garden. There had long before been a Treasury in the Tower of London. Another strong place was made a kind of half-way house after the building of the Fleet Bridge, the opening of Ludgate, and the transfer of the Templars from Holborn to their new house, with its fort-like church, by the shore of the Thames. This was in or before 1212, when King John withdrew a large deposit which had been in the custody of the Master of the Temple. In the following year he stayed a few days at the "New Temple," but his chief treasury remained in the Tower until his fatal march north and the invasion of Prince Louis. The King's jewels are said to have been lost in crossing the Wash, but a crown and some other jewels were preserved at Corfe Castle, and were sent for the coronation of Henry III., still but a child, under the tutelage of Hubert Burgh.

The Treasury in the Temple.

It is certain, however, that after the reign of Edward I. a considerable part of the royal treasure remained in Westminster Abbey, perhaps even down to the evil days when the supposed crowns of King Alfred and Queen Edith were taken away. Though the vault which Podelicote had robbed was built up and never used again, there were many reliquaries, chests, and cupboards in which things could be stored, whether they were items belonging to the King's wardrobe, or things for use at coronations, or

THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

private treasures of the wealthy Lord Abbot. There are references to all three in contemporary documents; but by degrees the safety and convenience of the Tower of London prevailed, and by the time of Richard II., if not sooner, it had become the home of the Imperial Crown, the headquarters of the Keeper of the Jewels.

There are frequent references, immediately after King John's successor had been crowned with the new regalia, to the existence of this officer. How many of the things stolen in 1303 belonged to the Jewel House in the Tower we cannot say. It is possible that they were additions, things on the way to the usual place of deposit, which rested at the Abbey till Edward, after his Scottish expedition, should have time to attend to them. Suffice it here to confine our attention to those objects which we know were in the custody of the Keeper of the Jewels, and therefore were stored not in Westminster Abbey, but in the Tower of London.

Our knowledge of these things is derived solely from the inventory prepared for the Parliamentary committee in 1649. There are several older lists of royal treasures, but it is not possible to identify the separate items. If we run through the Commonwealth list, however rapidly, it will occupy as much space as we can spare. All the treasures were archaic, things to which it would be difficult to find a parallel now. Costly materials were used for purposes for which they seem to us wholly unsuited.

Inventory of the Regalia in 1649.

For example, in an account of the cups and saucers in a great modern house, we might reckon various kinds of porcelain — Sèvres soft paste, Sèvres hard, English, Dresden, Japanese or Chinese; or pottery of various kinds, from Flanders Grey to Coalbrookdale. But in the Tower inventory there is only a single morsel which may be thought to represent any kind of ceramic ware, though drinking vessels, presumably intended for use at the Coronation feast, form by far the largest class separately enumerated.

Here are some typical specimens. In silver, dishes, platters, bowls, flagons, and basins, to the number of at least a hundred; gilt silver, sixty cups with covers, and other vessels; fifty other objects such as plates, spoons, salt cellars, knives, and ewers—the list of treasures "in the Lower Jewel House of the Tower in the custodie of Mr. Carew Mildmay" comprising a large Bible and common prayer book, covered with gold and silver gilt, and valued at £192; and, above all, a pair of unicorn's horns, valued at £600. These things apparently were the ordinary features of a palace cupboard, and hardly count among the Coronation Regalia, being only in the Lower Treasury. Carew Mildmay, who added the name of Hervey before his own in 1627, had charge of

Carew Mildmay, Groom of the King's Jewels and Plate.

them, and was "Groom of the King's Jewels and Plate" from 1625 onwards, his cousin, Sir Henry Mildmay, being then Master of the Jewel House. Carew remained at his post after King Charles left London in 1642, and was there when he was turned out after the King's death in 1649. Between these two dates he had many unpleasant experiences, for though his sympathies leaned to the Parliament in their letter," says Mr. Bennett, "appears the endorsement, in Mr. Mildmay's own hand, 'Not obeyed,' 'Not obeyed,' 'Sir Henry Mildmay came himself and delivered up the keys'; and then at last it is noted, 'They break into the office and commit me to the Fleet.'"

Such were the preliminaries of the great act of destruction which was carried out in the autumn of 1649. The commissioners began with

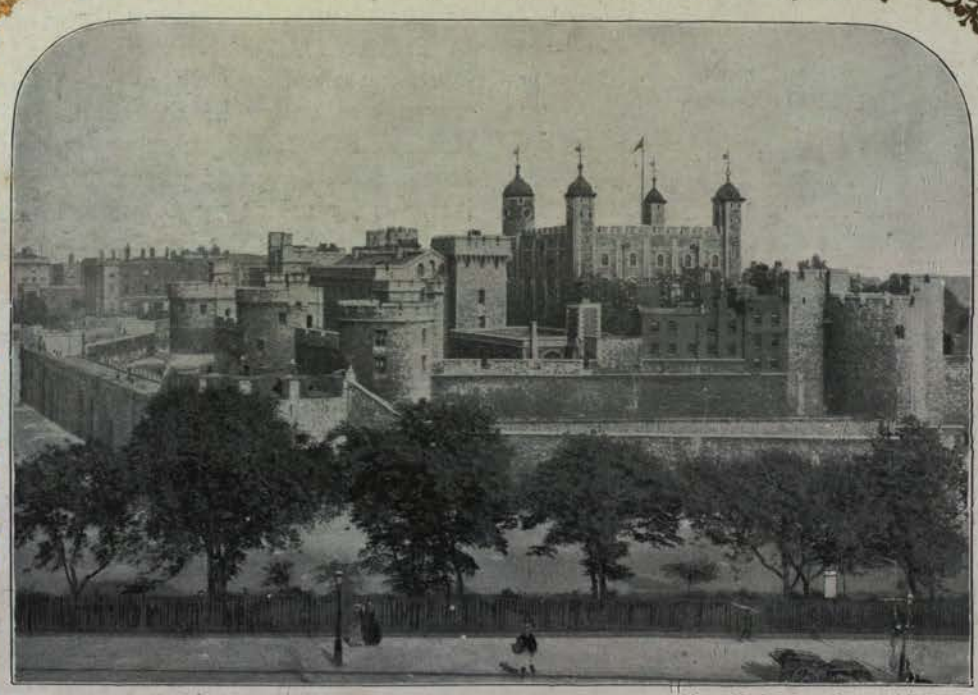


Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill, W.

THE TOWER OF LONDON.

struggle with oppression, his oath on entering office and, subsequently, the way in which the fanatics of the party carried it into extremes, coupled, no doubt, with their crowning mistake in putting the King to death, awakened all his loyalty, as it must have done that of thousands who had opposed the royal policy; and we find the Parliamentary commissioners summoning him over and over again to abandon the trust which had been committed to him by the dead King's father. "Upon letter after

The Great Act of Destruction.

the silver. Carew Mildmay was summoned to meet them and deliver what was in the Lower Jewel House. An advertisement was issued naming the place and time of the public sale. The contractors, who undertook to carry it away and deface it or melt it down, attended accordingly; but Mildmay took no notice, or when summoned sent "an unsatisfactory answer." The messengers of the Parliament thereupon wrote to him appointing "Saturday next,

about nine of the clock in the morning, when we may do what should have been done this day." They threatened, further, that if he did not attend and give up his keys they would be forced against their wills "to follow the direction of the Act."

Sir Henry Mildmay, the guardian of the Upper Jewel House, behaved very differently. As the superior of his cousin, he seems to have desired him to yield, as, in fact, he had done himself; but it is clear that Carew Mildmay refused, and that eventually the commissioners broke open the door, seized the plate, and committed its keeper to prison.

Meanwhile, in the same month and afterwards in October, Sir Henry delivered up the jewels in his custody. In Mr. Bennett's paper there are copies of endorsements like the following, which occur on the inventories: "The trustees took away all the plate in the Jewel House at Whitehall, Sir H. Mildmay himself being then present." And again: "Sir H. Mildmay's letter of command to me to deliver up all the plate in the office at the Tower and Whitehall to the Trustees or my keyes."

Eventually both the Mildmays received certificates enabling them to obtain arrears of salary and other sums due to them, and were, moreover, commended for their faithful service when the rest "deserted the Parliament and went to the King."

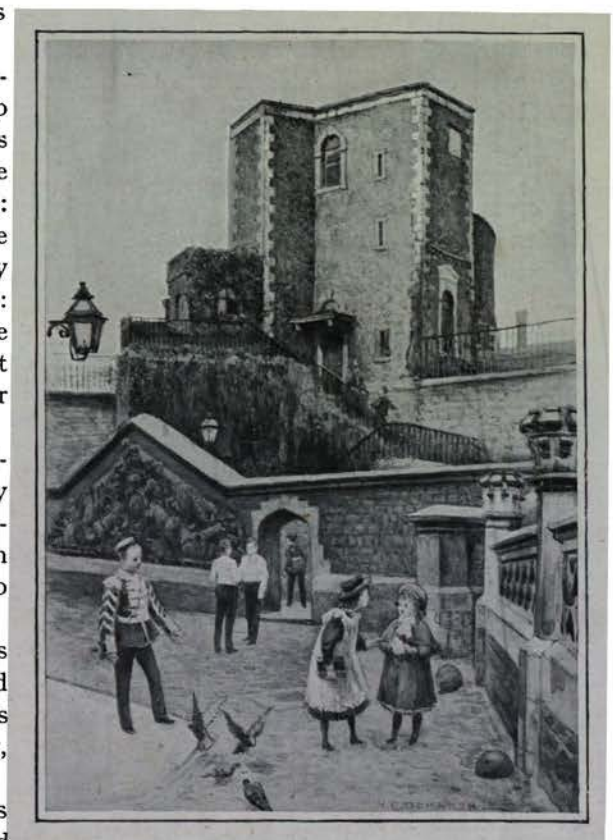
Sir Henry delivered up precious metals amounting to 54,759 ounces 1 dwt. of silver and silver gilt, and 373 ounces 1 dwt. of gold. His cousin gave up, or had taken from him forcibly, silver or silver gilt to the value of £16,496.

Among the objects specially mentioned as having been surrendered by Sir Henry, we read of the King's and Queen's crowns, "and also one other crowne called Edward the Sixt," and "divers vessels of christall and aggots." As we have seen, though there are drinking cups of almost all possible materials, china or porcelain is not represented except in one doubtful entry, which runs as follows: "A cheynye large pott, with an eagle beake and serpent handle, with a cover richly garnisht." This is valued at £50, but whether it was of porcelain or only came from China it is impossible now to say. The rest are of gold, silver, agate, lapis lazuli, glass, and many other substances, but the great majority of crystal.

Lists of the Things Destroyed.

There are two or three lists extant of the things which the Parliamentary "trustees," as they were called, took out of the two jewel houses in the Tower, from the treasury of Whitehall, and from the deanery at Westminster, that 25th September, 1649.

Among them, chiefly mere lists without a word of description or the smallest note of admiration, we may select a few of whose appearance we can form an idea. Thus, among the first few items in "the Upper Jewel House"



THE UPPER JEWEL HOUSE: THE MARTIN TOWER.

at the Tower, we are told of "two great silver-gilt basins," with some stones set in collets of gold, 45 lbs. 2 oz. in weight. What are collets? Professor Skeat says a collet is "the part of the ring in which the stone is set." These basins are valued at £144 10s. 8d. Again, there is "a cup and cover called the stag, the stag's head on the cover." Two more "rich gilt" basins follow with "a sey cup," probably an assay cup, or ladle for tasting. There are several "casting bottles," what we call casters, or more frequently but erroneously, castors. There are also fruit dishes of mother-of-pearl with silver edges

and ornaments; flat cups with covers garnished all over with roses of gold, enamelled, and a crown on the top; crystal candlesticks, cups and covers, and a pot "garnished with silver gilt, and set with rubies, sapphires, and pearls in collets of gold"; this is valued at £12. A curious object is thus described: "A crystal watch (bell ?) standing upon six balls, with a mannikin on top of it garnished with pearls and stones."

BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER BEARING THE AMPULLA AT THE CORONAT.ON OF GEORGE IV.

It was supposed in the Middle Ages and later that cups made of crystal, agate, opal, amethyst, or other stones would crack or otherwise betray the existence of poison. There were enormous numbers of these cups in the Tower, some of them described as being of heliotrope stone. Ostrich eggs were much esteemed for the same purpose. Thus almost close together we find a series of such drinking vessels as these: "An agate cup and cover of silver gilt with the Queen's arms on the top of the c ver and H. R. on the other: a serpentine cup standing on four gilt balls with an elitropian cover, garnished with seven collets set in with rubies and sapphires: an 'estridge' cup and cover, garnished with silver gilt, supported by three ostriches and a serpent wound like a ring upon the cover: and, lastly, a crystal cup supported by three satyrs set with stones and figures of devils."

When we pass on to the list of golden vessels we have a few more descriptions, but the number is the most wonderful part of the list. There seem to have been no fewer than eighty drinking vessels of all shapes of crystal, agate, or other rich material, mounted in gold, and generally with covers of gold set with precious stones. Among them is the ampulla, or vessel in which at a coronation the oil for anointing the King was brought to the officiating prelate.

A few more objects may be picked from this most tantalising catalogue. Thus we read of a broad crystal bowl, the cover of gold set with pearls and other precious stones, and with five mottoes enamelled on the cover and two round the foot. This splendid vase weighed 3 lbs. 2½ ounces, and was valued at £120. It must surely have been worth even then at least £1,000. What would it be worth now?

A little further we read of what may well have been a gift from the King-maker: an oval agate cup and cover garnished with gold, with a bear and ragged staff on the top of the cover.

The supposed horn of a unicorn was always an object in great esteem. There was in this golden cupboard "a unicorn horn beaker and golden cover with a diamond ring on the top supported by three unicorns" of gold; and "an unicorn horn beaker, garnished with gold," valued at £50; a crystal dragon, ornamented with gold; a cup on whose cover was "a golden naked man riding on a dolphin; and a rinoceras cup, graven with figures, with a golden foot."

Finally, in this wonderful list we come to those objects which, when Charles II. was restored, were imitated from memory for the new regalia. They were separately enumerated in the Mildmay inventory, and were evidently considered to be the most valuable relics of monarchy, and for that reason the objects of the special spite of the Parliamentary commissioners.

First we have the following description, which is given in full: "The imperiall crowne of massy gold, weighing seven pounds six ounces, enriched with nineteen saphires, thirty seven rubies balass, twenty one small rubies, two emrods, twenty eight diamonds, one hundred and sixty eight pearls, the gold (six ounces being abated for the stones) valued at £280, the saphires at £198, the balass rubies at £149, the small rubies at £16, the emralds at £5, the diamonds at £288, the pearls at £174, amounts in all to £1110."

It will be perceived that, unlike modern crowns, this one which was used at the coronation of Charles I., and is figured very accurately in some of his portraits, was "of massy gold." Of late, the crowns, those of George IV., for example, of Queen Adelaide and of Queen

Victoria, were of silver. Among the ornaments of the crown of Charles were only twenty-eight diamonds, whereas in that of Queen Victoria there were more than two thousand seven hundred. The number of sapphires is nearly the same in both, namely, nineteen in the old crown and seventeen in the later. The large rubies are described as *balass*, a word usually taken to refer to the mines in Badakhshan, but "balakhsh" is sometimes given as an Arabic word for "ruby." Balas has in modern times been taken as a jeweller's term for an inferior kind of stone; but it had evidently acquired no such meaning in 1649. In the old crown there were thirty-seven "balas" and twenty-one small rubies. In

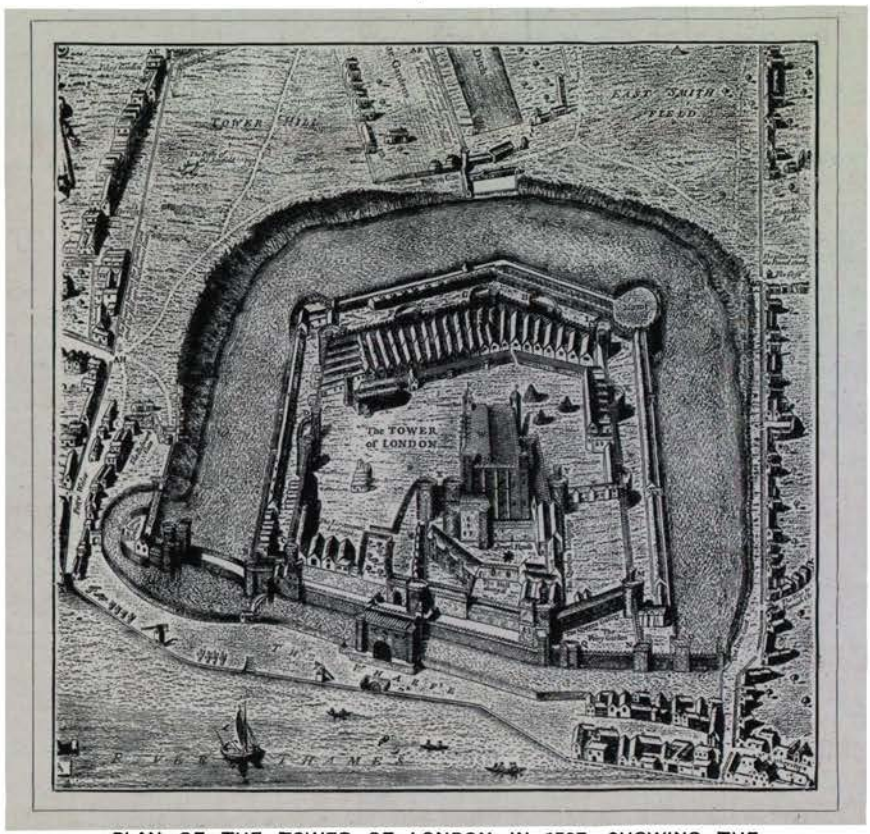
Crown of Charles I.

crowned. The crown is thus described in the Parliamentary inventory: "The queenes crowne of massy gold weighing three pound ten ounces, enriched with twenty saphires, twenty two rubies ballass, eighty three pearles. The gold (five ounces being abated for the weight of the stones) valued at £40 per pound, the saphires at £120, the rubies ballass at £40, the pearles at £41 10s., which in all amounts to £338 3s. 4d."

Crown of Henrietta Maria.

Next is "a small crown found in an iron chest," which in one copy of the list is called the crown of Edward VI. It was only valued at £73 16s. 8d. It is not very clear whether some precious stones worth £355 were set in this crown, but they are not further described.

Crown of Edward VI.



PLAN OF THE TOWER OF LONDON IN 1597, SHOWING THE ORIGINAL JEWEL HOUSE, MARKED BY AN *.

Queen Victoria's there were only five, one of them being the large stone described below.

After the King's crown we have the Queen's, made, possibly, for the coronation of Henrietta Maria in 1625, but more probably for Queen Anne of Denmark. It is certain that Henrietta Maria, owing to religious scruples, was never

After the crowns come the rest of the "coronation implements," namely, the globe, the bracelets, two sceptres, a long rod of silver, a George of gold, two offering pieces and "a say" of gold, and some other objects, apparently reserved for the personal use of the sovereign. In all, the collection seems to have found little

favour with the "contractors." We can easily understand a reluctance on their part to pay an adequate price for anything which could be identified hereafter as having formed part of the regalia. This hesitation seems to have extended even to things, like unset stones, which might have been expected always to be quite saleable. The total of the Upper Jewel House in the Tower of London comes only to £6,771 os. 4d., and of all in both Jewel Houses to no more than £13,267 12s. 8d.

It is remarkable that among the things which apparently remained unsold were the ruby which is believed to have belonged to Edward the Black Prince, and the silver-gilt spoon for the anointing which had been in the custody of the Dean of Westminster.

The Black Prince's Ruby.

So perished the old regalia. The jewellers who bought pieces had every reason, if they could not export their purchases to France or Holland, to treat it as merely old metal, to be melted down. The story of the statue which Le Sœur made for Charles I. is typical. It was set up at Charing Cross, and was sold by the Parliamentary commissioners, as they sold the regalia. A brazier named Rivett bought it, receiving strict orders to break it up. He pretended to comply, made money by selling knives and other objects supposed to be cast from the broken bronze, and at the Restoration, after some legal proceedings, produced the statue virtually intact. The city goldsmiths do not seem to have followed Rivett's example. They had probably invested their capital very unprofitably, low as were the valuations; and we need not doubt that at a time when money was scarce the Mint of the Commonwealth bought back much of the gold and silver of the old regalia at a loss. Such was the termination of a transaction worthy to follow on the decapitation of the King. Petty spite, coupled with fanaticism and sectarian fury, robbed the nation at once not only of its most ancient memorials and of a series of invaluable works of art, but also of a large sum of money which it could ill spare after the destructions and impoverishment of the Civil War.

The Story of a Statue.

It is not by any means certain in what part of the Tower of London the two "Jewel Houses"

Photo: W. Gregory & Co., Strand, W.C.

YEOMEN WARDERS OF THE TOWER.

ARMS OF THE TALBOTS.

were situated. The late Mr. George Clark, whose account of the buildings in his "Military Architecture" is the most trustworthy, mentions that in 1341 certain jewels were kept in the White Tower, and that probably the same place is mentioned in 1344 as being "an inner chamber near the Black Hall in the Tower, where the King's private jewels were deposited." A few years later they were certainly in the White Tower. In 1623 the Upper and Lower Jewel Houses seem to be implied in the entry "His Majesty's secret jewel house in the Tower," and the Martin Tower, built in the reign of Henry III., which caps the north-east angle of the Inner Ward, would appear to have housed the Crown jewels from the year 1641, when they were removed here from the building on the south side of the White Tower on account of the dangerous propinquity of a powder magazine. The original Jewel House probably adjoined the Wardrobe, forming part of that inmost triangular court of Norman architecture of which the White Tower itself and the basement of the Wakefield Tower now alone survive. So that now, when the regalia is kept in the Wakefield Tower, it is nearer to its original position under King John than it had been for some two hundred and twenty-five years.

The Jewel Houses.

Immediately on the return of Charles II. the want of the regalia began to be felt. Sir Henry Mildmay was still alive, but there was no treasure to be guarded. Probably neither he nor his cousin, although they were anxious to clear themselves of any accusation of consenting to the late King's death, can have been very desirous to return to their old offices at the Tower. They had received payment of arrears of salary and perquisites from the Parliament, and had retired to their estates.

The Restoration.

Sir Gilbert Talbot was installed as "Master and Treasurer," and a memorandum exists detailing the ancient rights to which he conceived himself to be entitled. They are certainly calculated on a liberal scale, and one reflection will occur to the modern reader, namely, that in the universal system which prevailed in all the public departments, it is surprising that Pepys and other officials who took what we should call bribes, really took so much less than they might have received without question except by their own consciences. Sir Gilbert speaks, for example, of certain ounces of gold and of certain purses which contained thirty or forty shillings each, being "the small presents" annually sent to the King by the lords and others. The Lord Chamberlain had claimed these as perquisites of his own office, but the Master of the Jewel House proved them to be his right, "yet told his Lordship if he liked any of them he should have them as a gift, but not as his due." Yet usually, we read a little further on, "the Master gives the Lord Chamberlain five or six, at the cupboard, as he doth to other officers and friends that ask." He adds two anecdotes which are so characteristic of the time that I cannot omit them.

Perquisites of the Master of the Jewel House.

When Sir Gilbert Talbot took office he called to one of his yeomen for the account books which were in the keeping of Layton, an old officer of the Jewel House. Layton, a "peevish old man, who had lived long in the office," refused to deliver them. Sir Gilbert showed him his patent, pointing out the words by which he was commanded to inquire into the accounts. As he remained obstinate and became insolent, the Master was compelled to suspend him, and at the same time he acquainted the King with the affair. His Majesty "very well approved," but old Layton, "for very vexation of spirit, died." His son had the impudence to claim the father's place, which Sir Gilbert naturally refused, whereupon the younger Layton threatened to complain to the King. The Master himself acquainted the King, who again

Calling for the Old Account Books.

approved, saying that if Layton came, he should "have an answer."

So far we see King Charles supporting his officer; but as an example of his easy-going good nature, of which so many instances may be culled from the pages of Pepys and Evelyn, we have the following.

One of the yeomen, Serjeant Painter, without any application to Sir Gilbert, went boldly to the King and begged the reversion of Layton's office. The King graciously granted the request. Painter, thus armed, came to the Master demanding to be admitted, and asserting the King's gift. Sir Gilbert accordingly applied to King Charles, who answered that he had assented to Painter's request. "Sir," said Sir Gilbert, "it belongeth to me to choose my own officers, because the trust of all your Majesty's plate is by me committed to them." "Well," said the King, "for this time let it pass, and I will invade your right no more." Sir Gilbert then asked the King if his Majesty would be security for all the plate entrusted to his keeping as Master of the Jewel House. "No, indeed, I will not," replied the King, adding, "If that be requisite I recommend him not." "Sir," said Sir Gilbert, "this expostulation is only to show my right and the danger of admitting any without security; but since your Majesty hath made choice of Serjeant Painter, he shall stand." And he admitted him accordingly.

Charles II. Refuses to be Security.

OFFICER OF THE JEWEL HOUSE AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV

At the opening or closing of a Session of Parliament it was the duty of the Master of the Jewel House to put the crown on the King's head when he assented to the passing of bills, and to take it off again at the conclusion of the ceremony. He "was ever esteemed the first Knight Bachelor of England, and took place accordingly." At the coronation he dined at the barons' table in Westminster Hall, wearing scarlet robes very like theirs. "He keepeth all the regalia and the plate that is not used in the family in the Tower, and to that end hath always conveniences of lodgings for himself, officers and servants therein." It will be remembered that at this time the King's palace still existed in the Tower, standing to the eastward of the Wakefield Tower, in which the regalia is now exhibited. Charles and his brother, the Duke of York, seem to have frequently resided there, especially in times of public disorder. At such times, no doubt, Sir Gilbert Talbot had to find silver for the royal table. He records, in the paper from which I have quoted, that his predecessor Mildmay had "£20 in gold from the goldsmith in signing his annual bill," but that he "would never require the same, lest it might look like a bribe to the Master to cast a favourable eye over the account."

Duties of the Master of the Jewel House.

It must have been in the dealings with the goldsmiths, the bankers of those days, that Talbot's chief troubles lay. Charles II. had but rudimentary ideas as to the payment of his just and lawful debts. There were difficulties about the city jewel merchants immediately after the Restoration, and Sir Gilbert tells us that when the King first came over, Colonel Blage, a groom of the Bedchamber, asked for and obtained leave to nominate the goldsmith with

whom the Master of the Jewel House would have to deal. As this would have involved the privilege, then much esteemed, of supplying the crown and other objects to be used at the approaching coronation, an Alderman, the celebrated Edward Backwell (Talbot calls him "Blackwell") was ready to pay £800 for it. But the Alderman, when he understood that it was the Master's right, quitted his bargain, and Colonel Blage did not insist.

How Charles II. treated his Bankers.

This Alderman Backwell was one of the city bankers who were ruined when Charles closed the Exchequer in 1672. At that time the King owed him £300,000! He retired to Holland and died seven years later. He had been Alderman of Bishopsgate, and his place of business was in Lombard Street at the sign of the Unicorn, nearly opposite to the premises of the greatest of his associates and rivals Vyner, who also was destined to suffer severely by the King's treacherous behaviour. At the beginning of the reign of the restored monarch no one seemed to think he would follow in the footsteps of his father, who had seized the goldsmith's deposits left in the Tower in his keeping. But the Stuarts, like the Bourbons, "learned nothing and forgot nothing." In forfeiting the confidence of London Charles I. brought punishment upon himself. Charles II. invoked the same judgment, but it fell upon his brother.

CROWN OF CHARLES II. IN THE POSSESSION OF LORD AMHERST OF HACKNEY.
(By permission of the Society of Antiquaries.)

The task of providing the new regalia was given to the banker and goldsmith Vyner, whose place of business was immediately behind St. Mary Woolnoth Church, on a site afterwards covered by the General Post Office, now a district office. Here he frequently did business, public or private, with Samuel Pepys, and is mentioned many times in the immortal diary. Mr. Hilton Price, in his "Handbook of London Bankers," has extracted the passages in which Sir Robert Vyner is named. His father, Sir Thomas, had been knighted by Oliver Cromwell, being Lord Mayor in 1654, and was made a baronet at the Restoration. His place of business was afterwards his son's, and at his death in 1665 he was buried in the old church of St. Mary Woolnoth, one of the few city churches which were only damaged, not destroyed, in the Great Fire of the following year. It was not rebuilt till 1727, when the Vyner tomb seems to have disappeared.

The New Regalia.

The accounts, some of them never paid, which the great goldsmith sent in for the regalia, lay in the Tower for a century and a half. Eventually, they and many other exchequer records were sold as waste paper. Robert Cole, a careful antiquary, purchased from the contractor, he tells us, various parcels to the amount of about two tons weight, and the well-known and invaluable Cole Manuscripts now in the British Museum attest his knowledge and historical prescience. In describing Vyner's transactions on the occasion of the coronation of King Charles II., he begins at the very beginning. It was eminently desirable that the coronation should take place as soon as possible after the King's return in May, 1660. The 7th of the following February was the date fixed upon at first. But "for many weighty reasons" it was postponed to the festival of St. George, the 23rd April. What one of those reasons was I have already pointed out, namely, the absence of a regalia. To Cole's researches we owe it that Vyner has

COLONEL BLOOD'S ATTEMPT
ON THE REGALIA.

been identified as the goldsmith who undertook to make good the deficiency. Writing to Sir Henry Ellis in 1841, he mentions that the maker's name was not known to Swifte, who at that time was Keeper of the Jewels, nor to Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, by whom the crown of Queen Victoria had just been made. Cole communicated his discovery to both, and sent Ellis the documents from which our information is now principally derived.

The commission to Vyner was apparently given by Sir Gilbert Talbot. He and Lord Sandwich, the Master of the Great Wardrobe, had orders to provide what was necessary—Talbot the jewelry, Sandwich the robes. Accordingly in a memorandum on the subject written by Sir Edward Walker, the Garter King of Arms, a committee, appointed by the King, agreed with the two officials named, and the things needful were duly prepared, retaining, we read, the old names and fashion of each.

The sum to be paid to Vyner was, so far as Cole could discover, £31,978 9s. 11d. Of this sum £5,500 was actually paid, and a warrant, dated 26th June, 1662, was signed for £21,000 9s. 11d.—was signed, but whether Vyner was ever paid in full we do not know. His full account has never been found, but if it gave any of the reasons which guided the workmen—any of the recollections of the old regalia—it must have been an interesting document. When, in 1672, Charles II. closed the Exchequer, he owed Vyner £416,724 13s. 1½d., but whether part of that sum was for the regalia account still unpaid we cannot now tell. There does not seem to be much doubt that Vyner was well acquainted with the things destroyed by the Parliament, and it is also very probable that he bought some of them, and that he was able to obtain access to others bought by Backwell and other goldsmiths.

What it Cost.

A MACE.
(*From Davenport's "English Regalia."*)

Vyner's receipt mentions the items as follows: "Two crowns, two scepters, a globe of gold, set with diamonds, rubies, sapphires, emeralds, and pearls, St. Edward's staff, the armilla, the ampulla, and other regalia, all of gold." In addition, he provided a crown for the Garter King of Arms and a chain, mace, and badge, as well as seventeen collars of the Order and as many Georges, five Garters, and seventy-five badges of the Order of the Bath. A number of new year's and christening gifts are also mentioned, and many maces and other large pieces of silver and silver gilt.

The first keeper of all this jewelry was an old servant of Sir Gilbert Talbot and of his father before, and probably from his name a country retainer or tenant of the family, Talbot Edwards. The regalia about this time became a rival with the Lions in the Tower, and Edwards' place was reckoned "a plentiful livelihood," though Sir Gilbert appointed him, as we are told, without fee. After Edwards' death he was offered "500 old broad pieces of gold for the place," but he continued it to a younger Edwards, and on his death gave it to Major Beckman, who had married a daughter of Talbot Edwards, on condition, as we are told, "that he should maintain old Mrs.

Edwards and the children, which he hath well performed."

It was during Talbot Edwards' incumbency of the office that the famous attempt of Colonel Blood was made to steal the crown. There seems to be some doubt as to Blood's origin. A highly respectable family of English, or, as it is generally asserted, of Dutch extraction, seems to have settled in the sixteenth century in Ireland, where one of them was a bishop. But Thomas Blood is said to have been the son of a blacksmith, and where he obtained the title of Colonel does not appear. He plotted against the Duke of Ormond when that great man was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He visited the Tower in April, 1673, disguised in the canonicals of a parson, accompanied by a lady whom he introduced as his wife. This person "feigned sudden indisposition," which led old Mrs. Edwards to invite her to rest, and some days later Blood, still wearing the clerical cassock and cloak, called with a present to Mrs. Edwards of white gloves. The acquaintance thus begun was easily improved. Blood told Edwards of a nephew who aspired to the hand of Miss Edwards, a youth with two or three hundred a year in land, and old Edwards appointed a day to see him, and invited the clergyman to dine. After dinner Blood prayed for the King in saying grace, and at leaving blessed the assembled party. He had appointed the following 9th of May to bring his nephew and introduce him to the Edwards family, and especially to the young lady.

ANOINTING SPOON.

(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")

Colonel Blood's Attempt on the Regalia.

On the day named Blood came into the Tower accompanied by three confederates. Pretending he would not go upstairs till Mrs. Blood arrived, he suggested that Edwards should show his friends the crown to pass the time; but no sooner had they entered the jewel room than a cloak was thrown over the keeper's head and a gag forced into his mouth.

They then told him they would take the crown, the orb, and the sceptre, and that if he submitted quietly they would spare his life. As they were all armed, Edwards' courage is the more remarkable. He made all the noise he could. They then knocked him on the head with a mallet and stabbed him in the body. At first they thought he was dead, and began to help themselves. One of them put the orb in his breeches pocket, another set to work to file the sceptre in two, and Blood took the crown under his cloak.

At this point relief arrived. Young Edwards, a soldier, who had been with one of the Talbots in the Low Countries, arrived home on leave, and came to the Tower to see his parents. Hastening upstairs he confronted the robbers, who, dropping the sceptre, made off in haste with the crown and the orb.

Old Edwards had recovered sufficiently by this time to sit up and pull the gag from his mouth. He gave the alarm, and young Edwards, accompanied by Beckman, the brother-in-law, who, as we have seen, was destined to succeed eventually to the office, ran after the thieves. These fired at a warder who endeavoured to stop them. A sentinel on duty at the drawbridge let them pass, and as they got out of the precincts they cried "Stop thief!" by which means they escaped till Beckman overtook them. Blood was seized with the crown in his grasp, and the other three, one of whom had the globe, though they had horses, were all ultimately taken.

SALT-CELLAR.

(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")

"In this struggle and confusion," says Bayley, in his "History and Antiquities of the Tower of London," "the great pearl, a large diamond, and several smaller stones were lost from the crown, but the two former and some of the latter were afterwards found and restored." The ballas ruby, which had been set in the sceptre, was also missing but was found in the pocket of one of the men.

The sequel of this strange story is the strangest part of it. Sir Gilbert Talbot was sent for at once, and immediately acquainted the King. Charles was persuaded by some of his courtiers

to see the prisoners himself, a circumstance which seems to have saved their lives. By what means Blood cajoled the King is not known. Bayley and others have given conjectural reports of the conversation. All that is known for certain is that the four desperadoes were first remanded to prison and shortly afterwards were released. Blood himself was pensioned, and possibly in that corrupt court he was able to render services to the King and his brother from which a less villainous ruffian might have shrunk.

The Sequel of the Incident.

If we assume, as some have done, that Charles had never paid for the crown, and that only a year before he had himself, by seizing the deposits in the Exchequer, committed a crime greater than Blood's, we only add that honest servants like Sir Gilbert Talbot and Talbot Edwards were at a discount, and must have performed their duties under heavy discouragement.

CROWN OF MARY OF MODENA.
(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")

While all the authorities agree that Blood was rewarded, they are equally unanimous that Edwards, though he was promised £200 as a reward, with £100 for his son, yet had, after long waiting, to sell the orders at half-price for ready money. Edwards survived till 1674, when he was upwards of eighty years of age. As already mentioned, he was succeeded in his office of Keeper by his soldier son, who did not live long, and was followed by his sister's husband, Beckman.

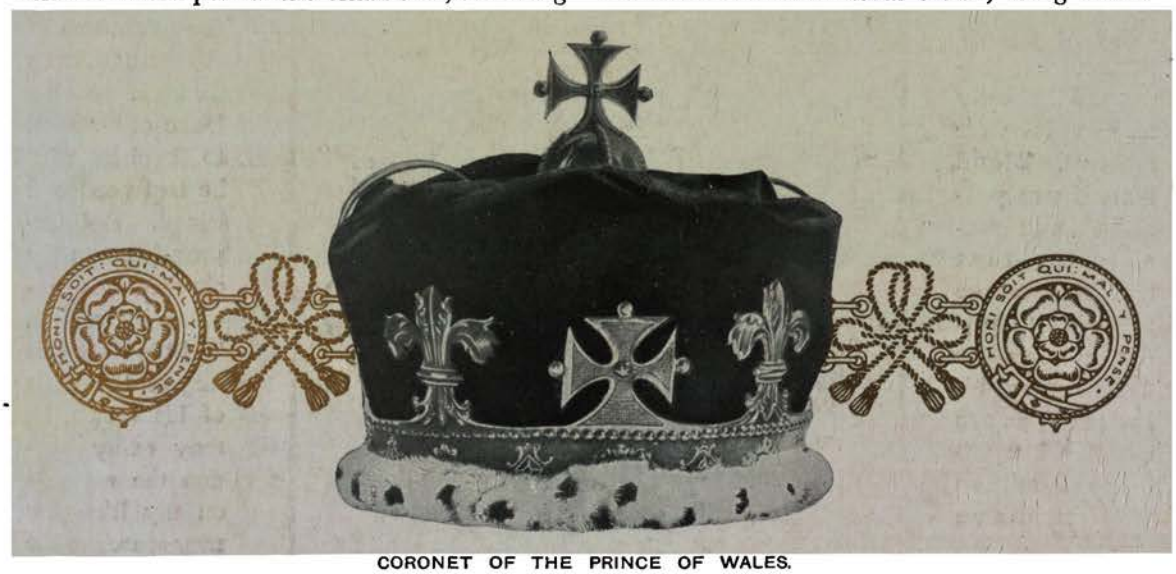
King Charles sent his minister, Arlington, one of the notorious Cabal, to the Duke of Ormond to explain why he had pardoned Blood. But Ormond proudly checked the excuses by saying, "If the King can forgive the theft of his crown, he may easily pardon the attempt on my life—you may spare me the rest."

Notwithstanding this attempt, so nearly successful, the public exhibition of the regalia continued from that time to this. By very slow degrees it has been made more and more accessible; and to the late Hepworth Dixon belongs the credit of having called the attention of her late Majesty's Government to the advantages of enabling the working classes to visit the Tower. Mr. Disraeli willingly acquiesced in his scheme, and Dixon had the satisfaction, on more than one occasion, of conducting parties to see the "lions," the regalia and the armoury in particular. Simultaneously great improvements

were made in the arrangements; the system of guidance by the warders was wholly changed, and in 1867 the chamber in the Wakefield Tower was refitted for the storage and exhibition of the Crown Jewels, the building being made, by an archway over the road, to communicate with the lodgings assigned to the Keeper in St. Thomas's Tower over the Traitor's Gate.

The Present Regalia.

The present regalia consists of two different kinds of objects, namely, the State Crown itself, which is of silver, and is usually made for each coronation, only the jewels being permanent, and of a series of more permanent ornaments, including sceptres, orbs, swords, and spurs. We had better name the more permanent objects first.



CORONET OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")

The crown made for Charles II., to be used at coronations as a kind of official pattern of the "crown imperial," or State crown, is distinguished in all the lists as St. Edward's, and is still to be seen at the Tower, where it has figured always as "the official Crown of England," to quote from Mr. Cyril Davenport's work,* to which we are indebted for several of our illustrations. This crown is supposed to have imitated as nearly as possible that which was broken up by the Parliamentary "trustees." It has been altered a little on several occasions, but is substantially as it was when completed by Vyner. No doubt portraits of Charles I. and his predecessors in which the crown appeared were consulted by the goldsmith; and also, we may conclude, the stones used were not those of largest size or greatest importance. It is to be observed, too, that the setting is of gold, whereas that of the State Crown is of silver. The crosses and *fleurs-de-lis*, and the arches over the cap, are adorned with rows of pearls, rosettes of diamonds enclosing rubies, emeralds, and sapphires. The pendent pear-shaped pearls attached to the cross remind us of the bells described as hanging to the original "crown of King Alfred," of which mention has already been made. The gold *fleurs-de-lis*, too, afford a reminiscence of a mediæval crown, being better set on the circlet to which they belong than those on the State Crown. Altogether, from the artistic, historical, or critical point of view, this is evidently work of the second Stuart period, but the design has been very largely influenced by an attempt to imitate an object constructed several centuries earlier. It is, in short, of Gothic design; but the Gothic is that of Inigo Jones or Wren, and not that of the fifteenth century.

"St. Edward's Crown."

Other Crowns.

The other crowns to be seen in the Wakefield Tower are associated with the names of the two queens, Mary of Modena, second wife of James II., and Mary II., joint sovereign of England with William III. The first is merely a circlet without arches (see page 51), but magnificently set with diamonds. Mr. Davenport, whose authority carries great weight, considers that it was worn as a cap or circlet before the actual coronation. It is said to have

* "The Regalia," by Cyril Davenport. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

"ST. EDWARD'S CROWN."

(FROM DAVENPORT'S "ENGLISH REGALIA.")

cost £110,000, and is made of gold, studded with large and small diamonds in rosettes, a spray of large stones forming the front, with one splendid

THE SCEPTRES WITH DOVES, AND THE SMALLER ORB.
(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")

stone rising by itself above the border of pearls. The second crown (see page 49) is considered by Mr. Davenport to have been made for Mary the consort of James II., but to have been used also by, and perhaps altered and improved for, Queen Mary II. A careful examination shows alterations in the crosses and the *fleurs-de-lis*, as well as in the central cross. No coloured stones were used for this crown, which is set with pearls and diamonds exclusively, some of the diamonds being of very large size. This is said by long tradition of the Keepers of the Regalia to have been the crown of Queen Anne.

The coronet of the Prince of Wales differs from that of a duke in having alternate crosses-patées, and *fleurs-de-lis* of gold instead of strawberry leaves, with a single arch depressed in the centre and bearing an orb or mound surmounted by a cross. The coronets of the princes of the royal family are the same, but without the arch, and those of the princesses substitute strawberry leaves for two of the crosses. It is said that Charles II. prescribed all these differences, but as there was no Prince of Wales in his reign, that relating to the gold arch cannot have come into force.

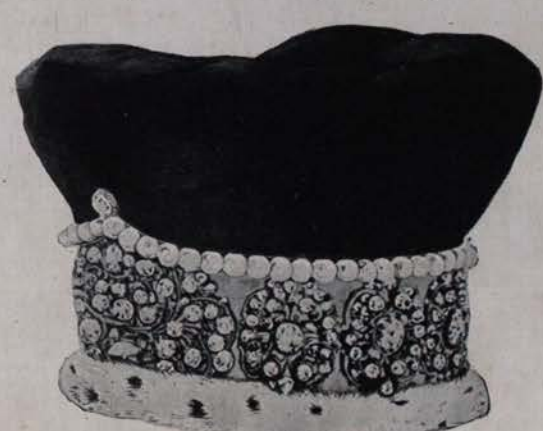
Coronets of Princes and Princesses.

The other permanent objects in the Tower regalia comprise first of all the orb. It is placed in the Sovereign's right hand when he is crowned, but is afterwards borne in the left. It is a ball of gold with a gold band set with jewels round the centre, from which rises an arch similarly ornamented, both being edged with pearls. Large rubies, emeralds, and sapphires are arranged in rosettes with diamond settings both on the circular band and the arch, on the summit of which is a large cross of gold, studded with diamonds, a sapphire being at the centre of one side and an emerald at the other. The cross stands on an immense amethyst of rich lilac colour, cut in facets, and an inch and a half in height. This orb was made by Sir Robert Vyner to supply the place of the old one, broken up, which was of plain gold, weighing 1 pound 5½ ounces. The enamel work in the bands and the setting is the same as that on St. Edward's crown.

The Orb.

A smaller orb is also exhibited. This one was probably made for Queen Mary II. It is neither so large nor so splendidly ornamented as the other, and the cross rests immediately on the arch of pearls without the intervention of the amethyst.

The sceptres come next, the Royal Sceptre



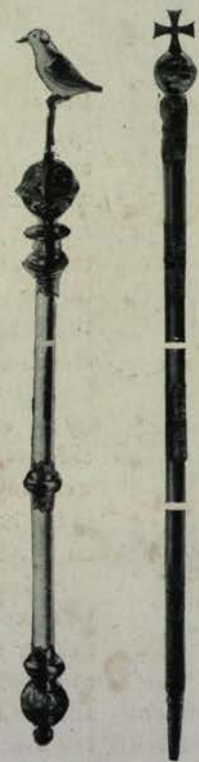
CIRCLET OF MARY OF MODENA.
(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")

being of gold and of very elaborate design and workmanship. As we see it now, it has been altered and in part remade. The ruby broken off by Parrot, one of Blood's confederates, does

not seem to have been replaced, a large *fleur-de-lis* being shown in its place and that of the mace-like head now seen. With this exception the sceptre is that prepared by Vyner, the upper half being twisted like the crystal staff of the Lord Mayor of London, and the rest plain, except that the three and a half inches at the foot are enamelled and otherwise ornamented. It is two feet nine inches long, the upper end consisting of a cross-patée of diamonds, resting, as in the design of the orb, on a large faceted amethyst, and that on an arched crown set with small rubies. The effect is exceedingly rich, the coloured stones being set off by the rings of blue enamel which encircle the shaft at intervals. A somewhat similar sceptre, also with a cross, but set with diamonds only, was prepared for Mary of Modena. It is an inch longer than the other.

The Sceptres.

Two sceptres with doves are also shown, one made for Charles II., the other for Mary II. (see p. 51). In both, the orb on which the bird rests is of gold banded with jewels. In each the Holy Dove is of white enamel, with the wings open. They are nearly a foot longer than the sceptres with the crosses. That made for Queen Mary II. is larger than the ivory sceptre borne by Mary of Modena, as Mary II. was crowned with William III., both being held to be equally reigning sovereigns. By a curious accident this sceptre of Mary II. was lost for a time. It was not in existence at the time of Blood's attempt, and no explanation has ever been offered to account for its having been concealed behind the wainscotting of the Jewel Tower and forgotten for many years before it was discovered during some alterations carried out in 1814.



IVORY SCEPTRE OF MARY OF MODENA. ST. EDWARD'S STAFF.
(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")

THE BRACELETS.
(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")

The ivory sceptre mentioned above is ornamented with gold rings enamelled in the same style as the others, but the wings of the dove are closed.

Of the Staff of St. Edward, Mr. Davenport, who has critically examined it, remarks that it has been left more nearly as it was originally fashioned by Vyner than any other piece in the regalia. It is four feet seven and a half inches in length, is made of gold, with rings of enamel, having at the end a long steel pike and at the head an orb or mound and cross, the mound supposed, like that on the steeple of Old St. Paul's, to contain a piece of the true Cross. It was, no doubt, modelled from memory of a staff which is recorded to have been specially repaired before the coronation of Charles I.

Staff of St. Edward.

ST. GEORGE'S SPURS.
(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")

There are many minor objects, which need only be noticed briefly. From the list printed in the Official Guide to the Tower the following notes are abridged:—

The Bracelets, or Armillæ, are of gold, and were re-enamelled for the coronation of George IV. They are ornamented with roses, *fleurs-de-lis*, and harps, and edged with pearls, and were made in 1661 for Charles II.

The Gold Spurs are carried by an official at every coronation, and placed upon the altar. They are an emblem of Knighthood, and the King's heels were touched with them by a nobleman who kneeled down for the purpose immediately after the anointing. They were then replaced on the altar.

The Ampulla, a vessel for containing the consecration oil, at the anointing in the coronation ceremony, is in the form of a bird—described variously as a pelican, an eagle, and a dove—with expanding wings, made in 1661, of gold, though some authorities have thought it was only repaired and re-chiselled. The head is unscrewed to receive the oil, which can be

THE ORB AND THE SCEPTRES WITH THE CROSSES. (FROM DAVENPORT'S "ENGLISH REGALIA.")

poured through the beak into the anointing spoon.

This Anointing Spoon is noticed more fully below. For centuries it was supposed to be of gold, but was examined by the Society of Antiquaries in 1890, when Mr. C. J. Jackson pointed out that it is of silver-gilt.

The Salt-cellar, or "Salt," of gold, richly jewelled, is said to be a model of the White Tower. Such models were set on the tables at State banquets, and served to mark seats of honour, "above or below the Salt." There are also twelve smaller Golden Salt-cellars, with spoons, and two Gold Tankards.

A Silver-gilt Fountain, presented to Charles II. by the Corporation of Plymouth, is a kind of rose-water dish, and is beautifully embossed and chased. A Silver-gilt Communion Service, for the Tower Chapel, includes a large salver engraved with the subject of "The Last Supper," a chalice, and the Maundy dish, used at Westminster Abbey for the King's alms on Maundy Thursday.

ARMS OF HENRY V.

"CURTANA."
(*From Davenport's "English Regalia."*)

The Baptismal Font, of silver gilt, is used at the christening of the Royal children.

The Sword of Mercy, or "Curtana," the blade 40 inches long, the point blunt, in a velvet scabbard, represents the sword of St. Edward, in whose day and later a knight frequently gave his sword a name. Thus, as we have seen, the sword of Charlemagne was "Joyeuse"; that of Richard I. was "Caliburn," and was fabled to be the same as that worn by King Arthur and celebrated in poetry as "Excalibur." The word *curtana*, in mediæval Latin, may refer to the shortened blade or point. Curtana was carried by the Earl of Chester at the coronation of Henry III. This is the "Sword of State" borne immediately before the Sovereign, two other swords being borne at certain ceremonies on either hand. These are the Swords of Justice, ecclesiastical and civil, and all three are in velvet scabbards with gold ornaments. Swords of State were sometimes blessed by the Pope and sent to English as well as to other European Sovereigns in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Edward IV. received one from Sixtus IV. in 1478; Julius II. sent one to Henry VII.; and Leo X. sent another to Henry VIII., which was in the Tower in the reign of James I.

The other objects shown in this chamber are of a more ordinary character. A model of the Koh-i-noor, in its original setting, as it came from India, before cutting, is in the central case. The series of insignia of the British Orders of Knighthood serve as standards with which decorations may be compared.

A SWORD OF JUSTICE.
(*From Davenport's "English Regalia."*)

We now come to the ancient objects already mentioned, namely, the spoon and certain precious stones set in the State Crown.

The Spoon. The spoon now among the objects in the Tower, is, as I have already observed, of the greatest interest. It certainly, in part at least, dates from the reign of Henry III., possibly from that of Henry II. Mr. Davenport has shown that the handle was

once enamelled. As we know from the tomb of William da Valence, in Westminster, and from the accounts of the monument at Rochester of Bishop Walter Merton, who died in 1277, enamel was in vogue in England at the time. This handle is seven inches and a half in length, and has, in addition to the very delicate pattern into which the colouring was worked, four pearls, besides, apparently, the setting for two other jewels.

The bowl has a division or ridge down the middle, and is two inches and a quarter long. A beautiful and, to my eyes, most characteristic "honeysuckle pattern" is chased on it, such as we often see in the ornamentation of manuscripts of the thirteenth century, and still more often in sculpture and in stained glass. The two divisions of the bowl are intended for the two fingers of the archbishop as he dips them in the holy oil at the anointing.

As there has been some controversy about the date of the spoon, and as, from the circumstances of the case and the fact that if it survives from the old regalia, it stands all but alone in this respect, I think it may be well, without going further into the questions involved, to quote the words of Henry Shaw, one of the best authorities. He says, without hesitation or qualification, that its style of ornamentation seems to prove that it was made in the twelfth century, that there can be no doubt of its antiquity, and that it has most probably been used in the coronation of our monarchs since that age. While it was thought to be of gold, its omission from the lists prevented its identification. Now that it has been discovered to be of silver gilt, it answers quite satisfactorily to the "silver spoon, gilt" which the Parliamentary "trustees" valued at 16s. in 1647.

ARMS OF SCOTLAND.

Three precious stones, all set in the State crown, known also as Queen Victoria's crown, may be said to vie in antiquity with the anointing spoon. In a sense, they are of far greater antiquity, because hard stones are so indestructible that any diamond may be thousands of years old, may have been discovered and polished before authentic history begins. A piece of work, however slight, which shows such mastery of style in design and such knowledge and technical skill as the enamelled spoon, is of more interest, artistically, than coloured crystals or diamonds, however well cut.

The Stones in the State Crown.

The most famous of these jewels is a ruby. It was described by the Parliamentary trustees as a balas—"one ruby balass pierced and wrapt in a paper by itself"—valued at £4; but it is now called a spinel. There is little difference, but Professor Church says in his manual on "Precious Stones" that red varieties of the spinel are generally spoken of as spinel ruby and balas ruby—those designated by the latter name being inferior in colour and brilliancy, and less like the true ruby, but chemically and physically there is no sharp distinction between them. Mr. Davenport classes the Crown ruby as a spinel. It measures about two inches in length. It seems to have been polished without cutting: at least, the polished surface seems to be natural. It is pierced in the Oriental fashion, and the piercing, as we see it, is filled up by setting a small ruby of the same colour to fill the orifice. The peculiar rough shape of this great stone enables us to identify it easily in any pictures of crowns, as it has always occupied a prominent place.

The history attached to the ruby is more or less traditional, if not legendary. It probably came from Persia or India at a very remote period. We first hear of it as having belonged to Peter the Cruel, King of Castile. He was said to have made war with the

King of Granada and murdered him for the sake of his jewels, of which this was one. He gave it to his brother-in-law, the Black Prince, placed on it, and at its having remained unsold to be placed by Vyner in the crown of Charles II. Sandford valued it at £10,000 in 1687. Since

THE EARL OF GALLOWAY AND THE DUKES OF NEWCASTLE AND NORTHUMBERLAND BEARING THE SWORDS AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

THE THREE SWORDS (*p.* 53).

probably in part payment for his help at the battle of Najera, in 1367. Edward and he quarrelled about the payment of the English troops, which lends some probability to the story.

We next hear of the great ruby as figuring on the helmet of Henry V. at Agincourt. It is not mentioned by any contemporary authority, but there is nothing improbable in the tale.

If, as is supposed, it is the stone which was "wrapt in paper by itself," under the Commonwealth we can only wonder at the low value that date its history is perfectly clear; and Mr. Davenport says it "has been valued at £110,000."

In the front of the crown is a large sapphire. It also figured in the crown of Charles II., and subsequently went abroad with the exiled Stuarts. It was among the relics bequeathed to George III. by Cardinal York in June, 1807. Like the ruby, it is pierced, but only at one end. It is large in surface and good in colour, but rather thin and flat.

In the cross of diamonds which rises from the

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY BEARING ST. EDWARD'S STAFF.

LORD CALTHORPE BEARING THE SPURS.

THE MARQUESS OF WELLESLFY BEARING THE SCEPTRE WITH THE CROSS.

AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

mound on the top of the crown is a large sapphire, though less than half the size of that just described. It is rose-cut, and Mr. Davenport thinks this was done when it was set in the crown of Charles II. This fine deep and full-

THE DUKE OF DORSET CARRYING THE SWORD OF STATE AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

coloured stone has the longest history of all, for it is believed to have been worn on his finger by Edward the Confessor, and to have been buried with him by Harold.

King Edward's Ring.

The old story of King Edward's ring has been often told. When he had assisted at the consecration of a church to St. John the Evangelist, he was accosted by a pilgrim of venerable appearance, who asked of him an alms. The King had emptied his purse in the offertory, but, drawing the ring from his finger, gave it to the stranger, who departed. Some time after two English pilgrims in the Holy Land were benighted and lost their way, when they met a band of youths in shining robes conducting a man of venerable appearance, sweet aspect, and innate gravity. He led the pilgrims to Jerusalem and took care of them, the next day setting them on their way. As he took leave he bade them go to King Edward, saying, "I am John the Evangelist, take this ring to him and tell him he shall die in nine days." They objected that the journey to England would take more than that time. "Take no thought for that," returned the Apostle, and cast them into a deep sleep. When they awoke they were in a field in Kent, and crossing to Havering in Essex, they gave the message to King Edward and restored to him the ring, warning him of his approaching death, which happened accordingly.

The sculptures of the Chapel of St. Edward show scenes from this legend. When Edward was canonised the ring with this sapphire was placed among the relics in the chapel. The first English king crowned on the Stone of Scone made an offering at the shrine of a piece of sculpture in gold weighing a pound and eight ounces, in which the King and the Pilgrim were portrayed.

It was firmly believed that the wearer of this jewel had the power of curing the cramp, and, as is well known, the efficacy of the royal touch in healing children afflicted with "king's evil" was a matter of faith. Queen Anne touched a child called Samuel Johnson, who many years later was buried in the Abbey church, and the service "At the Healing" lingered in the book of Common Prayer until the reign of George II.

The State Crown.

The crown in which the principal jewels were to be seen was that which was made by Messrs. Rundell and Bridge for the coronation of Queen Victoria. It headed the stand on which the Crown Jewels were exhibited. The whole weight was 39 ounces 5 dwts. (troy weight).

THE STATE BARGE.

The circlet consisted of a silver band, surrounding a crimson velvet cap, bordered with ermine. The band supported four silver branches, com-

THE STATE CROWN (QUEEN VICTORIA'S CROWN).

posed of oak leaves, each leaf bearing an acorn, formed of a single pearl, which, meeting in the centre, formed, as it were, two arches, from which rose an orb, or mound, of diamonds, over which was the cross, also composed of diamonds, with the magnificent sapphire in the centre which has just been described as having belonged to the Confessor. Round the band or circlet from which the arches rose were four *fleurs-de-lis* composed of diamonds, with a ruby in the centre of each. Alternating with the *fleurs-de-lis* were four crosses-patées also of diamonds, a sapphire forming the centre of each, except that in front, which had the Black Prince's ruby in it, surrounded by seventy-five diamonds. The three other crosses had, respectively, 132, 124, and 130 diamonds, and the circlet below was edged with large pearls, the upper row containing 129 and the lower 112. Four large pear-shaped pearls were at the meeting of the arches, and there were in all 277 pearls, 11 emeralds, and 2,783 diamonds in the crown.

When the crown was required by the Queen for any State ceremonial, such as the opening of Parliament, the Lord Chamberlain of the Household proceeded to the Tower, where, in his presence and that of the Keeper of the Jewels and other officials, the case was opened, and the crown placed in a box lined with velvet, in which was a boss that fitted it closely. The box was carried by a sworn Waterman to the Lord Chamberlain's carriage. The Queen's Watermen, by the way, were a relic of the old days when a State barge was the favourite conveyance between the palace in the Tower and that at Westminster. There are thirty-five Royal Watermen, and one of them in plain clothes attended the Lord Chamberlain with his precious charge to the House of Lords, and after the ceremonial back again to the Wakefield Tower.

Photo: H. N. King, Shepherd's Bush, W.

THE ROYAL WATERMEN AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

The Scottish regalia is preserved in Edinburgh Castle. Although the number of objects is very small, some of them are of high interest. They consist of a crown older than any in the Tower of London, a ring, to which a curious history is attached, and which dates from the time of James II., a collar and George of the Garter sent by Queen Elizabeth to her cousin and eventual successor, James I., and a few other things. In the reign of Queen Anne, about the time of the Union, namely, on the 7th March, 1707, they were laid by in a chest in what had been the royal quarters in the castle. In 1818, some inquiry was made for them, and Sir Walter Scott and others were empowered to find and exhibit them.

The Scottish Regalia.

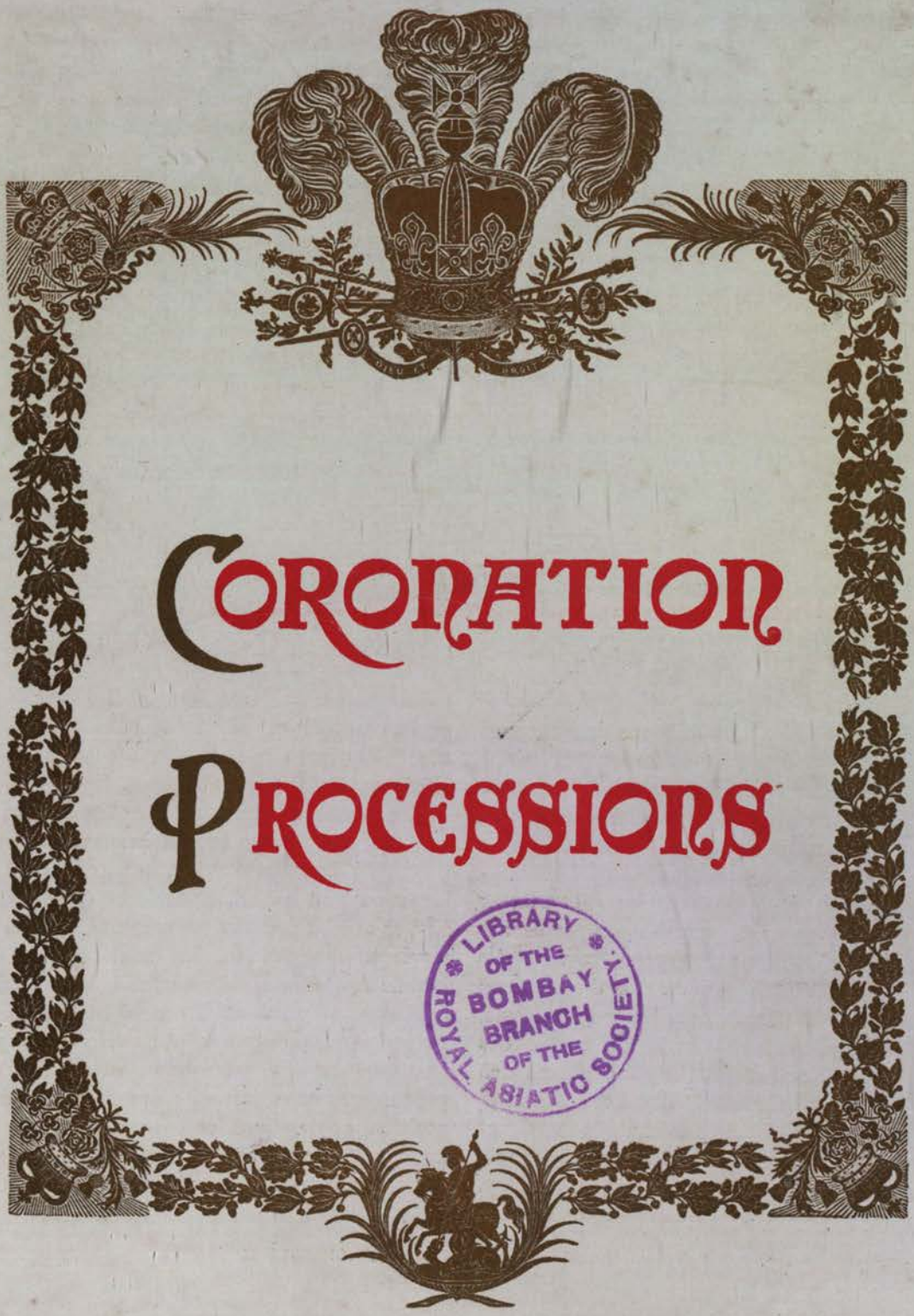
The crown consists of a circlet of gold with wirework ornamentation. Above are ten *fleurs-de-lis* and as many trefoils, with a pearl between each pair. "It seems probable," says Mr. Davenport, "that the crown as it now is is a reconstruction by French workmen, made under the care and by the order of James V., about 1540." Mary Stuart, the only child of James, was crowned with it before she was a year old.

The Sword of State was one presented to James IV. by Pope Julius II. The sceptre, which belongs to the following reign, is not remarkable, nor is the rod of office of the Treasurer.

The Story of a Ring.

The most interesting item of the Scottish collection is a Coronation Ring. Although the presentation of a ring is part of the coronation ceremony, it has always become the King's private and personal property. This one is said to have belonged to Queen Mary Stuart, and to have been transmitted by her to her son before she was beheaded at Fotheringhay. King James gave it to his son Charles, who at Whitehall gave it to Bishop Juxon, according to one account, and it passed from the bishop to his son. It is apparent that if this story is correct it was not, strictly speaking, a Coronation Ring. But another and more likely version is that it was the Coronation Ring of James VII. of Scotland, the second of England. He had such a ring at the time of his abdication and flight. Jones, in his "Finger Ring Lore," has mixed up the two stories without perceiving that they are inconsistent with each other. The ring of James II. descended to his grandson, Cardinal York, who bequeathed it, with other things, to George III. It was described in an inventory taken in 1703 as "one ruby ring, having a cross engraved on it, with which the late king was crowned," and it was valued at £1,500. It consists of the ruby engraved with a cross and surrounded with twenty-six diamonds. George IV. presented it to the Scottish regalia, where it remains and is shown along with the Thistle Badge of James VI. containing the portrait of Anne of Denmark, his Queen.

THE AMPULLA.
(From Davenport's "English Regalia.")



CORONATION PROCESSIONS

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER III.

CORONATION PROCESSIONS.

The External Ceremonies—Political Power of the City of London—Richard II.—Henry IV.'s Double Procession—Henry V.—A Child-King's Journey to meet Parliament—Richard III.—Henry VII.—The Dragon as an Heraldic Device—Henry VIII.'s Marriage and Coronation: London's Rejoicings—Edward VI.'s Procession—Charles II.'s—Hereditary Offices—The Great Chamberlain—The Earl Marshal—"Jocular" Tenures—The Champion—His Coronation Cup and Suit of Armour.

THE religious ceremony of the hallowing, as I have said, is more important — that is, more essential—in a coronation than anything else. Yet a larger number of people are interested in what we may call the external ceremonies—the processions, the public feasts, the challenge, and all the rights and duties belonging to the great offices, such as those of the Lord Steward, the Earl Marshal, the Great Chamberlain, and also of those who are tenants of manors or other lands or fees by Serjeantry, or incumbents of offices, such as the Butler, the Champion, the Falconer, the Almoner, the Larderer, and the Herb Woman.

The External Ceremonies.

The number of claims made at the time of the coronation of George IV. was enormous. Since then, the banquet having been omitted, the larger part have been set aside by the Commission as not having any opportunity to fulfil the services supposed to be due. During the Middle Ages a very large number of all leases, ordinary as well as royal, had something named of the nature of a service by way of rent, such as the presentation of a flower or a peppercorn, or a pair of gloves. The relative position of landlord and tenant, of granter and grantee, was preserved if possible, and in the case of Crown grants it seems to have been

THE CORONATION PROCESSION OF CHARLES II.

(After Wenceslaus Hollar.)

DUKE OF YORK AND SQUADRONS OF HORSE-GUARD.

a legal maxim that every gift had a condition attached to it—sometimes a payment, sometimes a presentation, sometimes a service.

Political Power of the City.

The processions from the Tower to Westminster were undertaken apparently to test the state of public feeling in general, but especially the feeling of the citizens of London. The City had immense political power. No king could hope to prosper—or, to put it differently, no king prospered—who did not enjoy the favour of these wealthy burghers. Their voice represented the popular assent. After the Conquest, when might was right in so many ways, London had become the definite place of the royal election. Henry I. owed to it his throne, so did Stephen, so did other kings, whose claim would have been but shadowy if the citizens had not supported it. The procession, therefore, through the streets on horseback, or along the river highway in boats, was the outward and visible sign of the approbation of those who claimed, and so often exercised, the power of which a recent historian (Freeman) said that the Londoners "made good their ancient right to a voice in the choosing and deposing of kings." Another writer (Green) speaks of London as claiming "of itself the right of election." And a third (Rogers) makes use of a still more emphatic expression. "The city of London," he asserted, "put the House of Hanover on the throne and kept it there."

The procession, therefore, was but seldom omitted, and in some cases the passage of the new sovereign through the city gave occasion for a great and significant demonstration. This was especially the case when Richard II. succeeded his grandfather, Edward III., in June, 1377. The citizens hailed him as "the Londoners' King"—a name bestowed upon him in the first instance by the jealous courtiers, who saw that he ascended the throne more by the help of the citizens than by that of the great magnates. Richard eventually, but not for many years, forfeited the esteem of the people; and when, before his coronation, he took up his abode at the Tower, he was in all respects most welcome. A curious incident marked the progress of the procession to Westminster on St. Swithin's Day. Great preparations had been made. The city "was adorned in all sorts most richly," says a chronicler. The Mayor had claimed for himself and his fellow-citizens that he should assist the chief butler at the forthcoming banquet. Chief Justice Belknap, who should have known better, flouted the claim, and only yielded in saying they might come and help to wash up the pots and pans. The citizens had their revenge, and turned the laugh against the Chief Justice. "At the upper end of Cheap was a certain castle made with four towers, out of which castle on two sides of it there ran forth wine abundantly."

Procession of Richard II.

THE HERBWOMEN AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV

HORSE-GUARDS. MESSENGERS OF THE CHAMBERS.

On one of the towers, the fountain was fashioned into a figure of Chief Justice Belknap, who was represented vomiting wine.

The King came out from the Tower of London after dinner accompanied by the Mayor and sheriffs, the aldermen and nobility, all on horseback. He was dressed in white garments, Sir Simon Burley bearing a sword before him and

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON BEARING THE CITY SCEPTRE AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

Sir Nicholas Bond leading his horse. On the four towers of the castle set up in Cheap, where Belknap was so cruelly caricatured, there stood four beautiful maidens, of the age and height of the young King, and as he passed they blew flakes of gold-leaf over him. When he arrived abreast of the castle they took golden cups, and filling them with wine presented them to Richard and his companions. On the summit of the castle was another effigy—a golden angel, which, as the King passed, stooped down and held a crown over his head.

When, in spite of all the excuses for delay offered by beauteous maidens and angels and wine-cups and crowns, the cavalcade at length reached Westminster, the King entered the Great Hall of the Palace. This was the old hall, of round-arched Norman style, built by William Rufus, the fragments of which are built into the walls of the magnificent hall which still commemorates the taste of Richard II. On the present occasion, we read, the new King and his courtiers went up to the high marble table and asked for wine. Temperance reform had evidently made but little progress in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. When they had all drunk the King retired with the royal family, and when he had "supped royally," we are told, "and bathed becomingly," he retired to rest.

Henry IV.'s Double Procession.

Of the coronation of Henry IV. in 1399 we may form a clear idea from the pictures in a splendid manuscript of Froissart in the British Museum. On this occasion there was a double procession—first from Westminster to the Tower on Saturday, the 11th of October, then from the Tower, the next afternoon, back again to Westminster. Henry "rode all the way bare-headed." At the Tower, the night before, he selected forty-six squires who were to be knighted, and they watched that night by their arms, according to the laws of chivalry, and, says the chronicler, "every squire had his own bath by himself." In the morning the Duke who was to become King the next day knighted them at Mass time, in the Tower, and after dinner they attended him back to Westminster. "Then had they long coats with strait sleeves furred with minever, like prelates, with white laces hanging on their shoulders." Further on we are told that these coats were scarlet.

The new King rode a white charger, and had on him "a short coat of cloth of gold after the manner of Germany," and the garter on his left leg. Six thousand horsemen accompanied him, with a great number of lords, every lord's servant in his master's colours, all the citizens by their crafts, the guilds of foreign merchants all in their liveries, and the houses were hung

SQUIRES TO THE KNIGHTS OF THE BATH.

with gay cloths and carpets. "And the same day and the next there were in London running seven conduits with wine, white and red."

There was no procession at the coronation of Henry V. An alarm had been sounded that the Lollards meant to destroy the monasteries and friaries; and the new King removed privately from the Tower to Westminster, and going out with an armed force after midnight he apprehended Lord Cobham and more than eighty men in armour. This was on the morrow after Twelfth Day, and some days later thirty-seven of them were hanged "and seven of them burnt, gallows and all," in Fickett's Field, adjoining Lincoln's Inn and St. Giles's, probably where the great square of Lincoln's Inn Fields is now.

Henry V.

ARMS OF LINCOLN'S INN.

The journey of Henry VI. to the meeting of Parliament in 1423 was not, strictly speaking, a coronation procession, but took place before that event. The child-King was but eight months old at the time of his father's death, and had still, in November, attained less than two years. An old chronicler describes the journey from Windsor, and, somewhat modernised, his narrative runs as follows: "This year, upon Saturday, that is to say the twelfth day of November, the King and the Queen his mother removed from Windsor toward the Parliament at London, the which began at Westminster on the 21 day of October before; and on the 13 day of November at night the King and Queen were lodged at Staines; and upon the morrow then being Sunday the King was borne toward his mother's chair and he shrieked and sprang, and would not be carried further. Wherefore he was borne again into the Inn and there abode the Sunday all day: and on the Monday he was borne to the chair, and he being then glad and merry cheered, and at even came to Kingston, and there rested the night. On the Tuesday he came to Kennington, and upon Wednesday he came to London with a glad semble and merry cheer in his mother's bosom in the chair, and rode through London to Westminster, and on the morrow was brought into Parliament."

A Child-King's Journey to meet Parliament.

This must have been but a sad sight, and the coronation in 1429 at Westminster cannot have been much more cheerful. Richard Beauchamp, the stout Earl of Warwick, the King's guardian already mentioned, figured in the ceremony, and in the other coronation of two years later at St. Denis.

Of the coronation feast at Westminster we have some curious particulars. The whole passage is too long, and contains the names of too many dishes of doubtful meaning, to be worth quoting here, but both the bill of fare and the description of the festivities must be summarised.

It was on the 6th November, being St. Leonard's Day. The King was then little more than eight years old, or, as we are told, "upon the age of ix years," yet we read of his riding from the Tower through the City on a noble charger with great triumph. It was observed by the citizens, who had idolised Henry V., that the child not only had "the very image, the lively portraiture and lovely countenance of his noble parent and famous father," but appeared likely to inherit his moral virtues, martial policy, and princely feats—as the result proved, a most unfortunate prophecy. The only thing we can gather from the early records of the reign of Henry VI. is that he enjoyed the stage, and especially music. At Christmas he paid the large sum of 66s. 8d. to a minstrel and to a

Through the City.

KNIGHT HARBINGER. SERJEANT PORTER. SEWERS OF THE CHAMBER. GENTLEMEN USHERS. QUARTER WAITERS. CLERKS OF THE CHANCERY SIGNET, PRIVY, SEAL COUNCIL PARLIAMENT, GOWN.

company of strolling players, "Jack Travel and his companions," for performing divers plays and interludes, as well as £1 to certain Jews of Abingdon, who also played; to a choir for singing a requiem for the Duke of Lancaster 6s. 8d., and to Robert Atkynsone 6s. 8d. for carrying the King's portable organs on foot at different times from Windsor to Eltham and from Eltham to Hertford. The Lady Alice Butler, his governess, had a special licence from the Council reasonably to chastise the King, without being molested or injured for so doing.

ARMS OF THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

The feast after the coronation was of great magnificence. One of the chroniclers (Hall) sums it up briefly by mentioning delicate meat, pleasant wine, numbers of courses, sorts of dishes, labours of the officers, multitude of people, estates of lords, beauty of ladies, riches of apparel, and curious devices. But another historian is not so moderate, and gives us not only a list of the dishes in each course—of which there were three of a dozen each—but quotes the mottoes on the "soteltes," or subtleties, which adorned each course. Thus figures, perhaps in pastry or bread, represented St. Edward and St. Louis, "bringing in between them the King in his coat armour with this scripture here ensuing"—the verses referring to the young King's descent from the English and French royal families. The dishes included "furmenty with venison, beef, moton, great pike, and custard with a leparde of golde syttinge theryn." Then came the second course, which included pigge, chikyns, partrich, and pecok, and for a subtlety the Emperor and King Henry V., and, kneeling before them, the young King, with eight lines in black letter, of which the first two were as follows:—

The Feast.

Against miscreants the Emperor Sigismund
Hath showed his might which is imperial.

The third course followed—egrets, curlew, plover, "snytes" (snipe), larks, carp, crabs, and "a cold baked meat like a shield quarterly red and white, set with lozenges and gilt and flowers of borage." The subtlety showed the Holy Family with St. George and St. Denis presenting Henry VI.

The chroniclers go on to tell of a woolpacker named Hundon who was burned as a heretic on Tower Hill, "the which was of so large a conscience that he would eat flesh on Fridays"; and on the morrow next after there was a fight in Smithfield, within the lists, before the King, where John Upton was appellant and John Downe defendant—the ordeal of battle, in fact—"and when they had long fought, the King took it up into his hands and forgave both parties." Such was the bringing up of Warwick's pupil.

Of the coronation of Edward IV. we have but few particulars. The ceremony was several times put off on account of wars and alarms, but took place at last on June 29, 1461. That of his Queen, Elizabeth Wydeville, followed on May 16, 1465.

The election of Richard III. in 1483, to the prejudice of his brother's children, was immediately succeeded by his coronation. He and his Queen, Anne, the daughter and co-heiress of Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury,

Richard III.'s Coronation.

CHAPLAINS HAVING DIGNITIES. | THE KING'S ADVOCATE AND REMEMBRANCER. | MASTERS OF CHANCERY. | THE KING'S LEARNED COUNSEL AT LAW. | THE KING'S PUISNE SERJEANTS. | THE KING'S ATTORNEY AND SOLICITOR. | THE KING'S ELDEST SERJEANTS.

the widow of Edward, Prince of Wales, the only son of Henry VI., made the usual procession to Westminster from the Tower, and some authorities assert that the young son of Edward IV., who for "the space of two months and eleven days" had been accounted King as Edward V., rode in the train of his uncle and aunt. There was a previous procession which seems more likely to be that, if any, in which the unfortunate boy took his place; and a brief list of dates will make it plain. Thus, on the 23rd April, 1483, he was called King in a legal document still extant; on the 17th June he was still King; on the 20th his reign was said to have terminated; on the 26th of June the Protector, Gloucester, assumed the crown in Westminster Hall, and the same day rode to St. Paul's and, no doubt, to the Tower. From that day the boy King was seen no more.

The coronation ceremony in Westminster Abbey took place on the 6th July, and was preceded by another ride through the City. Dean Stanley summed up the scene, which was of unusual magnificence, in a few words: "The lofty platform, high above the Altar; the strange appearance of the King and Queen, as they sate, stripped from the waist upwards, to be anointed; the dukes around the King, the bishops and ladies around the Queen—the train of the Queen borne by Margaret of Richmond—were incidents long remembered."

CORONATION PROCESSION OF RICHARD III.

There seems something to be noted here as to "the dukes." There were three: Lord Howard, who had been created Duke of Norfolk the week before, Buckingham, and Suffolk. The second was attainted and beheaded in the course of the same year. The Duke of Suffolk, who had married Richard's sister, bore the sceptre with the dove. The younger brother of Edward V., Richard of Shrewsbury, had been created Duke of York in 1474 and Duke of Norfolk when at the age of six years he married Lady Anne

SECRETARIES OF THE FRENCH AND LATIN TONGUES. | DAILY WAITERS, SEWERS, CARVERS, CUPBEARERS IN ORDINARY. | GENTLEMEN USHERS. | ESQUIRES OF THE BODY. | MASTERS OF REQUESTS.

Mowbray, but as Richard III. gave the same dukedom to Lord Howard, he was already accounted dead.

Margaret, daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, whose title was extinct, was the widow of Edmund "of Hadham," Earl of Richmond, the eldest of the step-brothers of Henry VI., and was probably already the wife of Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby. On account, apparently, of her questionable royal descent, and her nearness to the throne through her first husband, the son of Owen Tudor by Queen Katharine, widow of Henry V., she was always, it seems, described as "the Lady"—that is, the Princess—Margaret. Her beautiful tomb, by Torregiano, is in the chapel of her son, Henry VII., at Westminster. "With all her prescience," says Dean Stanley, alluding to her attendance on Queen Anne (Neville) at the coronation, "Margaret could hardly have foreseen that within three years her own son would be in the same place."

RED DRAGON, FROM HENRY VII.'S ARMORIAL BEARINGS.

The King seems to have been surrounded by a fence of swords, drawn or undrawn, as he entered the Abbey under the canopy held by the barons of the Cinque Ports. The sword-bearers are enumerated by the same eye-witness who describes the strange scene at the Anointing, referred to by Dean Stanley. The Earl of Northumberland (Henry Percy, 8th earl) bore "Curtana," the pointless sword. The Earl of Kent (Edmund Grey) bore the second, and Lord Lovel (Francis, 9th baron, created Viscount Lovel the same year, who subsequently fought at Bosworth, fled from the field and was never heard of again, unless the skeleton of a man in a place of concealment at Minster Lovel, discovered many years later, was his) the third sword, naked. The fourth sword was borne by the Earl of Surrey (Thomas Howard, so created when his father was made Duke of Norfolk), and was in its scabbard. Besides these, the Duke of Suffolk bore the sceptre, already mentioned, the Earl of Lincoln the orb and cross, the Duke of Norfolk the crown, and the Duke of Buckingham the White Staff.

The King's only son, Edward, Prince of Wales, does not seem to have been present at the coronation, though his uncle, Edward IV., had made him Earl of Salisbury in 1478, when he was about two years of age. He was nominally Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and seems to have passed his short life at Middleham, in

Yorkshire, where he died in March, 1485. His mother died about the same time, and in August of the same year the career of Richard III. came to an end on the fatal field of Bosworth. The crown which he had worn in the battle was found in a hawthorn bush, battered and bent, but sufficiently whole to be placed by Stanley on his stepson's head.

Henry VII.'s Coronation.

Henry VII. was crowned on October 30, 1485, a little more than two months after his victory. His claim to the throne was of the most shadowy kind, and it might have been expected that as in previous cases, such as that of Henry IV. or Richard III., the event would have been marked by special festivities. He was descended from John of Gaunt, but his ancestor, who was step-brother to Henry IV., was born before his mother's marriage with the Duke of Lancaster. On that side, therefore, he had no genealogical claim. His father, again, was Edmund Tudor, called, like a prince of the blood, by the name of his birthplace, Hadham in Hertfordshire, where his mother, the French widow of Henry V., had retired in 1430, after her clandestine marriage with a Welsh soldier, Owen Tudor. Edmund's step-brother, Henry VI., gave him a coat-of-arms, in which the chevron and three helmets of his Welsh ancestors were quartered with the French *fleurs-de-lis* and the lions of England. His only son, Henry, by "the Lady Margaret," was attainted in 1484, and eighteen months later became King Henry VII., and attended, with the mayor, aldermen, and representatives of the city companies, at a service in St. Paul's, where he offered the standards under which he had led his army to victory. They are thus described in Doyle, quoting from Grafton, viz. 1. The image of St. George; 2. A red fiery dragon, beaten upon white and green sarcenet; 3. Of yellow "tarterne" (French thin woollen stuff), on which was painted a dun cow. The second of these was understood to be a reference to his Welsh ancestry, and has lately been revived as a badge of the Prince of Wales. All the Tudor sovereigns had the dragon as one supporter. "It is said," according to Willement, "to have been the armorial ensign of Cadwallader, the last of the British kings, from whom Henry seemed fond of declaring his descent."

The Dragon as an Heraldic Device.

The dragon had been used long before as a banner by English kings. The mediæval heralds who assigned arms to Adam and Eve and the Blessed Virgin, did not hesitate to make King Arthur bear a dragon and King Alfred another, but no two of these learned antiquarians agreed as to either form or colour, and the French heralds took no notice of the supposed discoveries of their brethren of the craft in England, but "discovered" a completely different set of shields for the Knights of the Round Table. Similarly, in more modern times there has been a difference of opinion as to the armorial bearings of Henry VII., he having made the red dragon his dexter and a greyhound his sinister supporter. Sandford says the greyhound was selected in honour of Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV., his queen; but Willement seems to think that Henry's greyhound was an allusion to his own descent from the Beauforts, and possibly from the Hollands and their ancestor, one of the sons of Edward III. This is very likely. Henry's nearness to the Royal House, through either his father or his mother, was of a questionable character, whereas through his mother's ancestress, Joane Plantagenet, "the Fair Maid of Kent," he was closely and unquestionably connected with Richard II., Joane's son by her second husband. Moreover, as Willement says, Henry showed great reluctance to notice the rival house of York. Undoubtedly, his coronation took place many months before his marriage. The children of his queen had thus a choice of claiming through their father, but actually claimed through their mother as the most direct heir.

King Henry's coronation then, though quiet, was assented to willingly. It virtually put an end to the war which had exhausted England for nearly a hundred years. One of his badges,

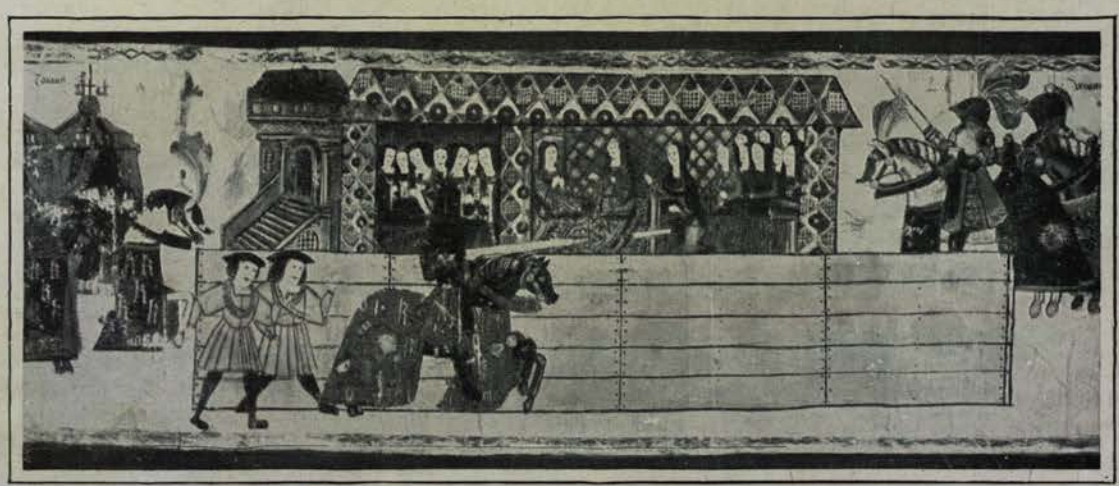
CHAMBERLAINS OF THE EXCHEQUER. GENTLEMEN OF THE PRIVY CHAMBER.

the Beaufort portcullis, bore the motto "*Altera Securitas*," and shows that he thought something of his descent from Henry IV., even though there has always been a doubt as to the words in the Act of Legitimisation by which the descendants of Katharine Swynford were debarred from the crown.

When Henry VIII. succeeded his father his mother had been dead seven years. There could be no question of the succession, and Henry's first efforts in the art of spending money, which he subsequently brought to such perfection, were directed to making his marriage and the double coronation as magnificent as possible. The great accumulations of Henry VII. were lavished on the most magnificent pageants London had ever seen; and the age of chivalry, the pomp of heraldry, the magnificence of mediæval ritual, and all those things which expired before the New Learning and in the pale dawn of the Reformation, went out in a blaze of gorgeous colour and golden splendour which was long remembered.

Henry VIII.'s Marriage and Coronation.

Henry VII. died on the 21st April, 1509. The regnal years of his son were computed from the following day, but he was not proclaimed in the city till the 23rd, St. George's Day. On the 3rd June following he married Katharine of Arragon, the widow of his brother, Arthur, Prince of Wales. For this marriage a dispensation had been obtained from the Pope, before the late King's death, and this dispensation, which, if the bridegroom's subsequent assertions may be believed, never satisfied his conscience, led ultimately to the Reformation and all the other changes which were carried out under the later sovereigns of the house of Tudor. The marriage was performed, according to Sandford, at the house of the Bishop of Salisbury (Edmund Audley) in Fleet Street (Salisbury Square marks the site), and the pair went down the river to Greenwich in great state. Returning thence to the Tower, after three weeks' honeymoon, they proceeded on the 24th June to Westminster on horseback through the city.



PORTION OF THE WESTMINSTER TOURNAMENT ROLL AT THE COLLEGE OF ARMS.

(By permission of the Chapter.)

The Londoners excelled all they had ever done before on this occasion. The city was hung with tapestry. That part of the road which passed through Cornhill was resplendent in gold brocade; and the western end of Cheapside, where the roadway along the northern side of the market-place passed between the old money-

London's Rejoicings.

KNIGHTS OF THE BATH.

changers' street and the headquarters of the goldsmiths, was equally magnificent. What the cavalcade itself was like we may form a very

ONE OF THE ROYAL PAGES, FROM THE WESTMINSTER TOURNAMENT ROLL, COLLEGE OF ARMS.
(By permission of the Society of Antiquaries.)

distinct idea from the roll of a tournament held the following year at Westminster. The occasion was the birth of a son and heir, Prince Henry, who died soon after, and Katharine of Arragon was Queen of the Tournament. The roll is preserved in the library of the Heralds' College, and shows us what a great procession was like when knights and squires and pages were attired in heraldic colours, and bore the devices of the princes and lords under whose banners they assembled.

We can but ask ourselves if the climate of London was so much better at the beginning of the sixteenth century than it is now, that men could attend tournaments held in the open air, dressed in silks, embroideries, and cloth of gold, or "silver encarnadine," that is shot with pink silk, and that, too, at a time when as yet umbrellas had not been invented nor india-rubber discovered.

The roll to which reference has just been made shows a heavy decline in the art of painting since the days of Richard II. The colouring is dull and inharmonious, the drawing grotesque. But let us endeavour to describe the magnificence which the artist intended to immortalise. One of the Queen's pages is represented on horseback. The horse is covered with cloth or silk, fringed with gold. The head and fore quarters are draped in dark purple, the hind quarters in red; both colours are covered with a pattern formed of the red rose of the house of Lancaster, surrounded with gold rays and "dimidiated" (halved) with a pomegranate, the badge of Katharine of Arragon. It is of gold, but has the opening showing the crimson seeds of the fruit within. These trappings are set off with a grass-green lining and a broad rein of brocaded silk in yellow and red. The horse is of elephantine proportions, and the page who bestrides him is very small. He wears a black hat edged with gold, and with a white ostrich feather in front. His long skirted dress is blue powdered all over with the letter "K" in gold, and

ATTENDANTS ON HENRY VIII. FROM THE WESTMINSTER TOURNAMENT ROLL, COLLEGE OF ARMS.
(By permission of the Society of Antiquaries.)

lined with the same yellow and red brocade which forms the bridle. He has yellow boots and enormous silver spurs. If such was the

KNIGHTS OF THE BATH. THE KNIGHT MARSHAL. MASTER OF THE JEWEL HOUSE. TREASURER OF THE CHAMBER. BARONS' YOUNGER SONS. VISCOUNTS' YOUNGER SONS.

costume of a page, what must have been that of the knights, the nobles, and the King himself?

In another picture two squires appear with the arms of Castile surrounded by small hawks' bells. In one the rose and pomegranate are growing from a single stalk, the leaves at either side differing. The man's dress is of yellow and red brocade, with full green sleeves, and the bridle is blue, with a row of golden bells hanging from it.

There is a suit of armour in the Tower of London which, as it was presented to Henry by Queen Katharine's brother, the Emperor Maximilian, about four years later than the time of the procession and tournament of which we are speaking, may give us some idea of the King's appearance at one of these performances. It is thus described by Viscount Dillon, P.S.A., in the "Authorised Guide" to the Tower: "The suit . . . is one of the finest in existence. It was made by Conrad Seusenhofer, one of a family of Augsburg armourers, and given in 1514 to Henry VIII. by the Emperor Maximilian. The man's armour is engraved with roses, pomegranates, portcullises, and other badges of Henry VIII. and his first queen Katharine of Arragon, and has on the metal skirt which imitates the cloth *bases* of the time, the letters H and K. The horse armour, probably made afterwards in England by one of Henry's German armourers, is also covered with engraving, and has panels on which are depicted scenes from the life and death of St. George and St. Barbara, both military saints. The whole armour was formerly washed with silver, of which some traces still remain."

Description of a Suit of Armour.

BADGE OF KATHARINE OF ARRAGON.

We shall have occasion in the next chapter to mention a coronation procession which was said at the time to have excelled that of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon in magnificence. This was when the same King led his second wife from the Tower to Westminster on the last day of May, 1533. His third, fourth, fifth, and sixth queens were never crowned.

King Edward VI. was crowned on Shrove Tuesday, the 20th February, 1547, little more than three weeks after his father's death. The late King had wished his son to be crowned in his own lifetime, and we may suppose that things were in a forward state of preparation when Henry's unexpected death took place—too late, as we remember, to save the life of Lord Surrey, and but just in time to prevent the Duke of Norfolk from following his son to the scaffold on Tower Hill.

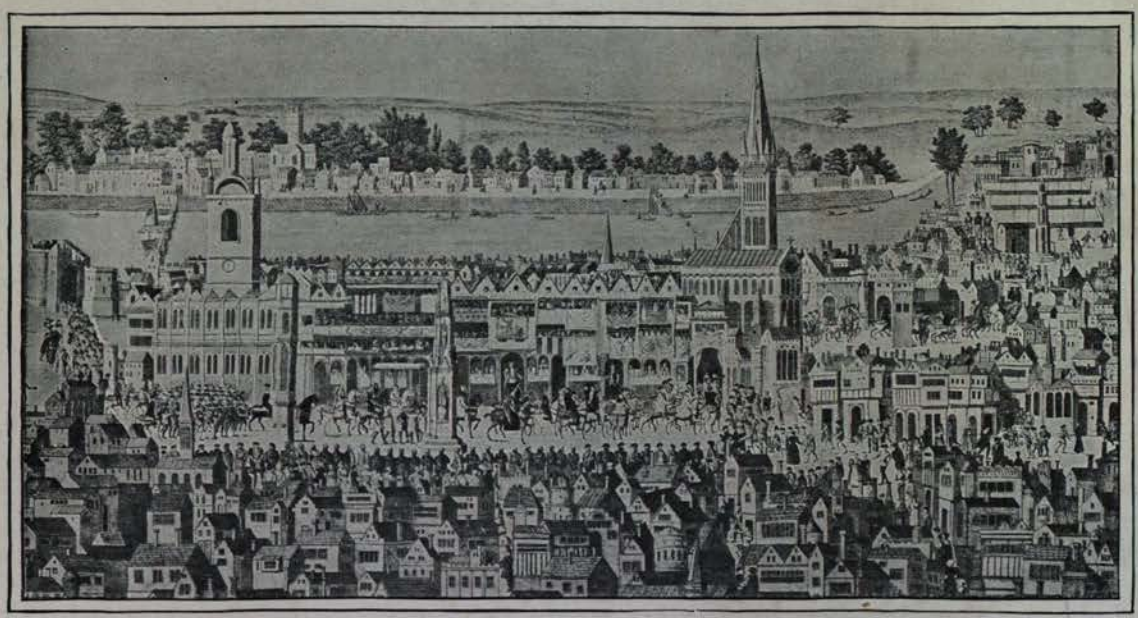
As Edward rode through the City from the Tower, where this tragedy had but just been enacted side by side with the ceremony in the hall of the palace—where Anne Boleyn had been tried and condemned—when the boy-King was knighted by his uncle and guardian, the Duke of Somerset, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, we hear of a splendid pageant of the old kind. Edward was but eight years of age, and we are not surprised that he was more

Edward VI.'s Procession.

BARONS OF THE EXCHEQUER. JUSTICES OF THE KING'S BENCH AND COMMON PLEAS. LORD CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE KING'S BENCH AND COMMON PLEAS. LORD CHIEF BARON OF THE EXCHEQUER AND MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

interested in a sailor who descended from the parapet of St. Paul's on a tight rope than in the classical and allegorical figures who addressed him in stilted rhymes as he passed by.

From this time for a period of one hundred and fourteen years there was no procession of a king through the City. Three queens succeeded Edward—Jane, Mary, and Elizabeth. Of them and their succession we shall have something to say in another chapter. James I. was too much afraid of the plague to enter the city, and the same reason was alleged at the accession of the White King, though some surmised that other causes worked on the mind of Charles I. After the Civil War and the usurpation of Cromwell, Charles II. could not omit anything calculated to make a favourable impression, and the procession from the Tower was of great magnificence. It took place on the 22nd April, 1661, nearly a year after the King's return, the delay in restoring the regalia and other reasons being alleged. Charles and his brother went early in the morning to the Tower by water from Whitehall. Every preparation was made with care and elaboration, and even a fine day was not wanting. The streets were smoothed with gravel, carpets and curtains of tapestry decorated the walls. Samuel Pepys saw the procession, and has summed it up for us in the oft-quoted words: "In which it is impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid and their horses and horse clothes."



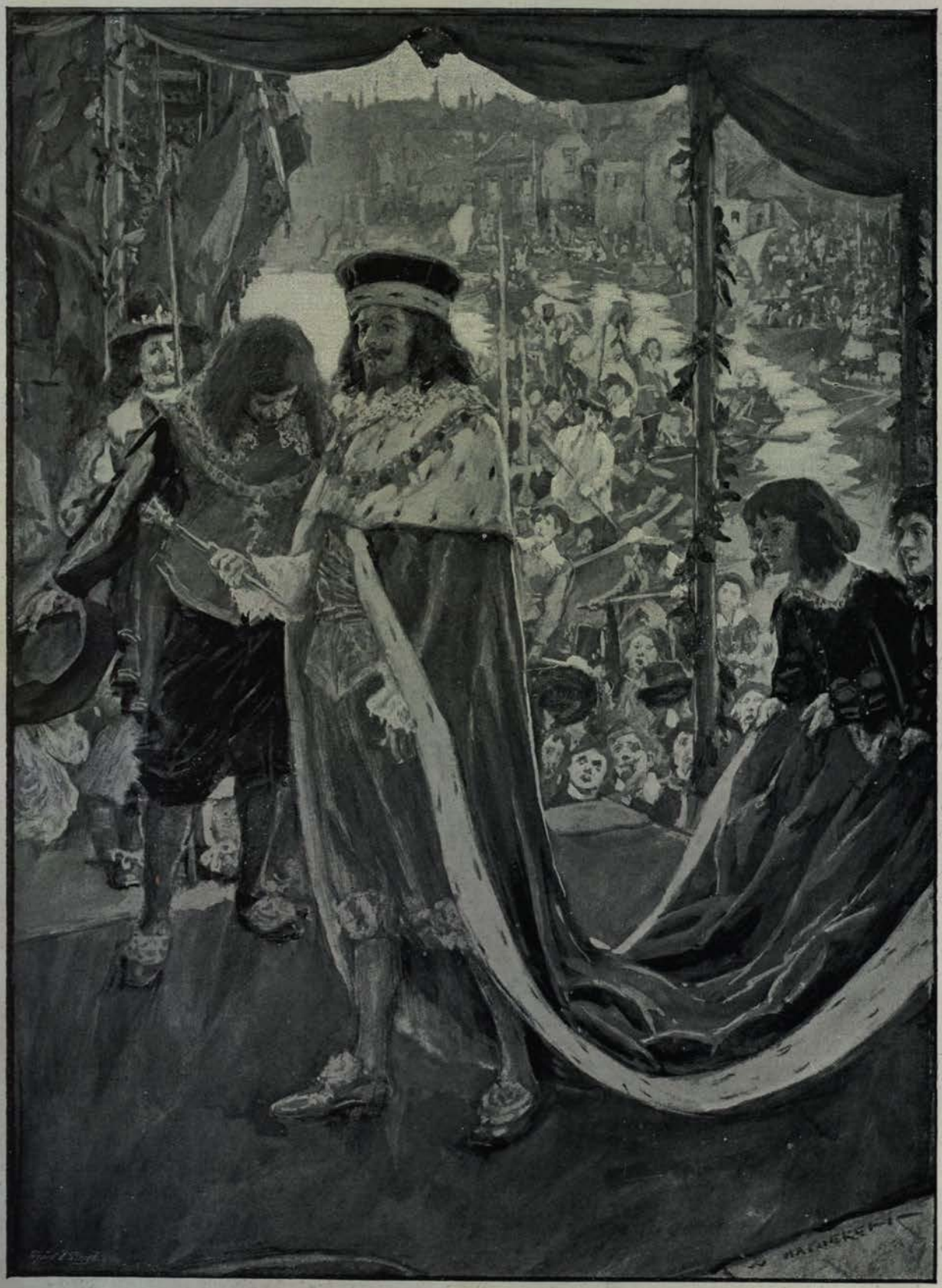
CORONATION PROCESSION OF EDWARD VI.

(From a Print of the Fresco of about 1550, destroyed with Cowdray House, 1793.)

Charles II.'s Procession.

He and his party go "to Mr. Young's, the flag-maker, in Cornhill, and there we had a good room to ourselves, with wine and good cake, and saw the show very well," particularly noting his patron, Lord Sandwich. "Embroideries and diamonds," he says, "looked ordinary among them. The Knights of the Bath was a brave sight of itself; and their esquires, among which Mr. Armiger was an esquire to one of the knights. Remarquable were the two men that represent the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine. The Bishops came

BARONS' ELDEST SONS. EARLS' YOUNGER SONS. VISCOUNTS' ELDEST SONS. THE KING'S TRUMPETS.



PROGRESS OF CHARLES I.
TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

next after the Barons, which is the higher place, which makes me think that the next Parliament they will be called to the House of Lords. My lord Monk rode bare after the King, and led in his hand a spare horse, as being Master of the Horse.

"The King, in a most rich embroidered suit and cloak, looked most noble."

Pepys's loyalty was much enhanced by this show. He goes on to speak of one Wadlow, a vintner who kept the Devil and St. Dunstan Tavern in Fleet Street, and led a company of young men in white; also of a company of soldiers dressed like Turks. Then he tells us that the roadway was gravelled, "the houses hung with carpets before them." and how he observed "the ladies out of the windows," one of whom he particularly admired. He was much pleased that the King and the Duke of York took notice of him and his friends, and he concludes an enthusiastic description by saying, "So glorious was the show with gold and silver that we were not able to look at it, our eyes being at last so much overcome." In the old editions of the "Diary" defective punctuation is accountable for spoiling the whole passage.

THE EARL OF MAYO BEARING THE STANDARD OF HANOVER AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV., PRECEDED BY THE PURSUIVANT AT ARMS.

"My lord Monk" was, of course, the General who had arranged the Restoration. He was about fifty-two at this time, and had been created Duke of Albemarle in the previous July. The weather seems to have held up for the procession, but a thunderstorm followed the conclusion of the coronation service the next day.

There was no procession at the beginning of the reign of James II., the King, as Macaulay remarks, being profuse where he should have been frugal, and niggardly where he might pardonably have been profuse. The crown appeared likely to fall from the King's head, but was upheld by Henry Sidney, one of the attendants, who observed, "This is not the first time that my family have supported the Crown," a remark that afterwards came to be looked upon as ominous, and was so taken by Queen Mary of Modena. A similar omen was seen in the fall of a jewel from the crown of George III., and was said—after the event—to have presaged the loss of the American Colonies.

An Omen.

William and Mary omitted the procession as James had done, and Queen Anne was suffering so much with gout that she had to be carried from St. James's into the Abbey. The royal lodgings were by this time no longer available in the Tower. The palace, bit by bit, had fallen into decay. The hall which adjoined the Wakefield, often called the Hall Tower, had become ruinous as early as the reign of James I., but the King's apartments were used by Charles II. on more than one occasion, and the garden on the slope between the palace and the White Tower was still in existence, till at last it was covered with storehouses.

THE SERJEANT TRUMPETER. PURSUIVANTS AT ARMS. BARONS.

EARL OF HARRINGTON BEARING THE ROYAL STANDARD AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

It would be easy to dilate on the original significance of the procession through the London streets. It was undoubtedly connected in the minds of the citizens with the old form of election spoken of already. A king or queen who was well received by London was reasonably sure of the support of the more important section of his subjects, those on whose numbers and wealth he might rely.

Among the coronation offices there is none which has excited more interest than the championship. It is commonly spoken of as hereditary. Some of these offices undoubtedly may be regarded as hereditary—that is to say, they descend, subject to the sovereign's pleasure, to the heirs of the persons to whom, with certain limitations, they were first granted, and others are attached to certain lands, and have already been defined as forming a kind of rent—a service in lieu of rent, or, in legal language, a serjeantry. These latter are not, strictly speaking, hereditary.

Hereditary Offices.

Of the really hereditary offices few remain, and the law relating to most of them is by no means clear. The late Sir Charles George Young, Garter King of Arms, drew up a table of precedence which he had privately printed, and in it are to be found the names of various personages, to which he appended a footnote saying that "these great officers do not at present exist." They are in order as follows: the Lord High Treasurer, the Lord High Constable, and the Lord High Admiral. The Treasurership is in commission. The First and other Lords of the Treasury have no special precedence as such. The Constable used to be appointed for a time in order to carry out certain duties. The Fleet is now administered, like the Treasury, by the Lords of the Admiralty, and the office of Lord High Admiral is said to be in commission.

But, in addition, there are other great offices the duties of which are regularly performed by the person upon whom they have devolved by hereditary succession without interference on the part of the Crown, and there are others

LORD HILL BEARING THE STANDARD OF ENGLAND AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

which, though they may have been hereditary at one time or another, are so no longer. Of the greater offices, those which endue their incumbent for the time being with the highest rank, some are of each kind. Thus the Lord Chancellor and the Lord President of the Privy Council rank immediately after the Archbishops,

MARQUESSES' YOUNGER SONS. EARLS' ELDEST SONS. PURSUIVANTS AT ARMS. VISCOUNTS.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON WITH BATON.
AS LORD HIGH CONSTABLE OF ENGLAND,
AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

who are next after the Royal Family. None of these offices is either hereditary or attached to the ownership of estates. It is the same with the Lord Privy Seal. Like the others who rank above him, he holds his precedence only as long as he continues in office. Then come two hereditary offices. They are those of the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Earl Marshal. These are not annexed to estates, and, subject, as I believe, to the pleasure of the sovereign, are really hereditary.

As the claims of a considerable number of noblemen to hold the office of Great Chamberlain have lately come before the court appointed to try such questions, it may be worth while to point out the early history of the office, and the nature of the difficulty which the court had to solve.

The Great Chamberlain.

In the reign of King Henry I., Robert Malet, who had been Chamberlain, was banished, and Aubrey Vere was put in his office. The office was granted to Aubrey and his heirs, to be held, like an estate, in fee, as lawyers say. It descended to his son, another Aubrey, who was made Earl of Oxford in 1155, and died in 1194. The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth earls followed each other, and they were followed by their descendants until Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford, was made Duke of Ireland and Marquis of Dublin by Richard II., and he was the last in the direct line to hold the office of Great Chamberlain. His uncle, who succeeded to the Oxford title, was Chamberlain of the Household in 1388, and his son, who followed him, held neither of these offices. The Veres and their ancient earldom became extinct in 1703. at the death of Aubrey "de Vere," the twentieth earl. He appears to have been called by the Latinised form of his name, but previously the family did not adopt the "de," a mere vulgarism. Lord Vere of Tilbury and Sir Francis Vere, whose monument in Westminster Abbey is so well known, did not use it, nor did Francis Vere, an illegitimate son of the last earl; but it has unfortunately crept into what may be called classical literature, owing to the late Poet Laureate, Tennyson, having written about a young person to whom he gave the impossible name of "Lady Clara Vere de Vere."

The Chamberlain's office had meanwhile been held by John Vere, the thirteenth earl, by "little John of Camps," the fourteenth, by a third John, his cousin, the fifteenth, and a fourth John, the sixteenth, who died in 1562, and by two more, Edward and Henry, successively, but not by the last two earls. The office was supposed to have passed to one of the descendants of Earl Edward, who left three daughters, but it certainly was filled after his death by his brother, the eighteenth earl. It is probably here that the main question comes in that had to be decided by the commissioners. The claimants were the Earl of Ancaster, the Marquis of Cholmondeley, and the Earl Carrington, all of them descendants of one or other of the daughters of Edward, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford. Though the King assigned the duties of the office on the present occasion to Lord Cholmondeley, the matter can hardly be described as settled.

The office of the Earl Marshal, like that of the Great Chamberlain, is to be reckoned purely hereditary. It is not attached to any manor, castle, or estate. It is, in fact, an estate, a possession in itself. The history of its descent is very

The Earl Marshal.

brief. The office has been held by the Dukes of Norfolk of the Howard family since the 29th June, 1483, when it was conferred on John, the first Duke. His mother was one of the co-heiresses of the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk, the last of whom, John, was hereditary Earl Marshal, holding office by descent from Thomas "of Brotherton," a younger son of King Edward I. Previous Marshals are said by many authorities to have held the office by serjeantry as lords of the manor of Hampstead-Marshall in Berkshire; or, as Ashmole expresses it, the manor was held by the tenure of the rod of the Marshalsea. This tenure may be said to have terminated when the office was conferred by the King on his son in 1316.

The duties were for some generations performed by deputy. The Dukes of the senior line were Romanists, and their substitute was usually a Protestant member of the Howard family. In 1777 Charles Howard of Greystock succeeded his cousin, and his son, Charles, Earl of Surrey, who had been Deputy Earl Marshal from 1782, became Duke in 1786. A third cousin, Bernard Edward Howard, succeeded in 1815, and was allowed to take his seat in 1829, after the passing of Roman Catholic emancipation. His son and successor, Henry, thirteenth Duke, was a Protestant, but the fourteenth Duke and his son, the present Duke and Earl Marshal, have been Romanists since the middle of the last century. The title and duties of Chief Butler have also descended to the Duke as lord of the Castle of Arundel, and until recently one of the junior members of the Howard family, as lord of the manor of Worksop, claimed the right, or duty, of providing the King's right hand glove and of supporting the King's right arm while he held the sceptre at the coronation.

Supporter of the King's Arm.

Another claim to support the King's arm is that of the Bishop of Bath and Wells. This has always been admitted. It is said to have had a very ancient origin. Bishop Savaric—who, by the way, was often called Bishop of Glastonbury—was despatched to treat with the Emperor for the release of Richard I. On the King's return the duty of supporting the King's left arm at the coronation was assigned to him. So runs the story. But we are not told whether the office is to be regarded as a service or a privilege.

"Jocular Tenures."

Anything like a complete list of these so-called "Jocular Tenures," so far as they relate to services to be rendered at a coronation, would be only tedious. They were nearly all to be performed at the public banquet, after the coronation, in Westminster Hall. This banquet last took place in 1821, when a very long list of the services came before the Court of Claims to be adjudicated upon and refused or admitted, according to the evidence. A few examples from the list printed by Sandford in his account of the coronation of James II. will suffice for us here. Thus, the Lord Great Chamberlain claimed to carry the King his shirt and clothes on the morning of the coronation, and with the help of the Chamberlain of the Household to dress his Majesty. For this service he claimed the bed, bedding, and furniture of the King's chamber, with forty yards of crimson velvet for a robe; and before and after dinner he claimed to hold water in a basin for the King to wash his hands, for which he was

to have the basin and towels, as well as a cup of silver. The cup was not allowed, but the velvet was conceded, and £200 was paid to compound for the rest of the fees.

John Leigh, of Bardolf, in Addington, Surrey, claimed to hold his manor by the service of finding a man to make a mess of gruel, and on his asking to appoint the King's cook to do it for him his claim was "allowed, and the said John Leigh brought it up to the King's table." In the account of the proceedings at the banquet itself we read, "Then followed the mess of pottage or gruel, called dillegrout, prepared by Patrick Lamb, Esq., the King's master-cook, and brought up to table by John Leigh, Esq., in pursuance of his claim as Lord of the Manor of Adington in Surrey." Lysons, in his account of the parish, tells that the manor was an appendage to the office of the King's cook, as Richmond, then called Shene, anciently was to that of King's butler. "It is certain," he adds, "that Tezelin, the cook, held it of the Conqueror." He traces the history of successive holders of the manor, and says the dish was called "maupygernon." It was presented to George III. by John Spencer, lord of the manor in 1761, but the service does not seem to have been claimed at the coronation of George IV. The dish is said by some to have consisted of "hasty pudding" made of almond milk, the brawn of capons, sugar, spices, minced chicken, and other ingredients.

BERNARD EDWARD HOWARD, TWELFTH DUKE OF NORFOLK.
(From a Drawing by Stephanoff at the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

Sir Robert Barnham claimed to present three maple cups for the manor of Nether Bilsington, in Kent; Sir Edward Bedingfield claimed "to perform the office of the Napery," and to have the table linen as his fee, for the manor of Ashley in Norfolk; the Earl of Exeter, Sir George Blundel and Thomas Snagg were allowed as joint-owners of the barony of Bedford to execute the office of Almoner, and to have as their fee the silver alms basin, a fine linen towel, the carpet on which the King walked to the door of the Abbey, and a tun of wine. The Earl of Derby presented two falcons, as lord of the Isle of Man. There were claims for manors to be larderers and caterers, and to make wafers and serve them at the table. But of all these services, of which there are several lists extant, that by which the manor of Scrivelsby, in Lincolnshire, is held is by far the most picturesque.

The Champion.

The office of Champion affords us a typical example of grand serjeantry, but cannot be called hereditary. It is annexed to the tenure of certain lands—the manor of Scrivelsby, to wit. The place "is prettily situated on gently rising ground, about two and a half miles south of Horncastle," says Canon Lodge, the author of the best account of the family and the office. Somersby, the birthplace of Tennyson, is only

LORD CHAMBERLAIN OF THE KING'S HOUSEHOLD. DUKES' ELDEST SONS. TWO HERALDS. MARQUESSES OF WORCESTER AND CORCHESTER. TWO HERALDS.

a few miles from Scrivelsby, and we can well believe that such a tangible memorial of the old days of knight-errantry and chivalry may have touched his youthful imagination.

"Why take the style of those heroic times?"

he asked in one of his first essays in poetry, the fragment entitled "Morte d'Arthur," and the answer is to be found in the fact that the theme thus indicated was eventually that which he longest followed, and by which he will be best remembered.

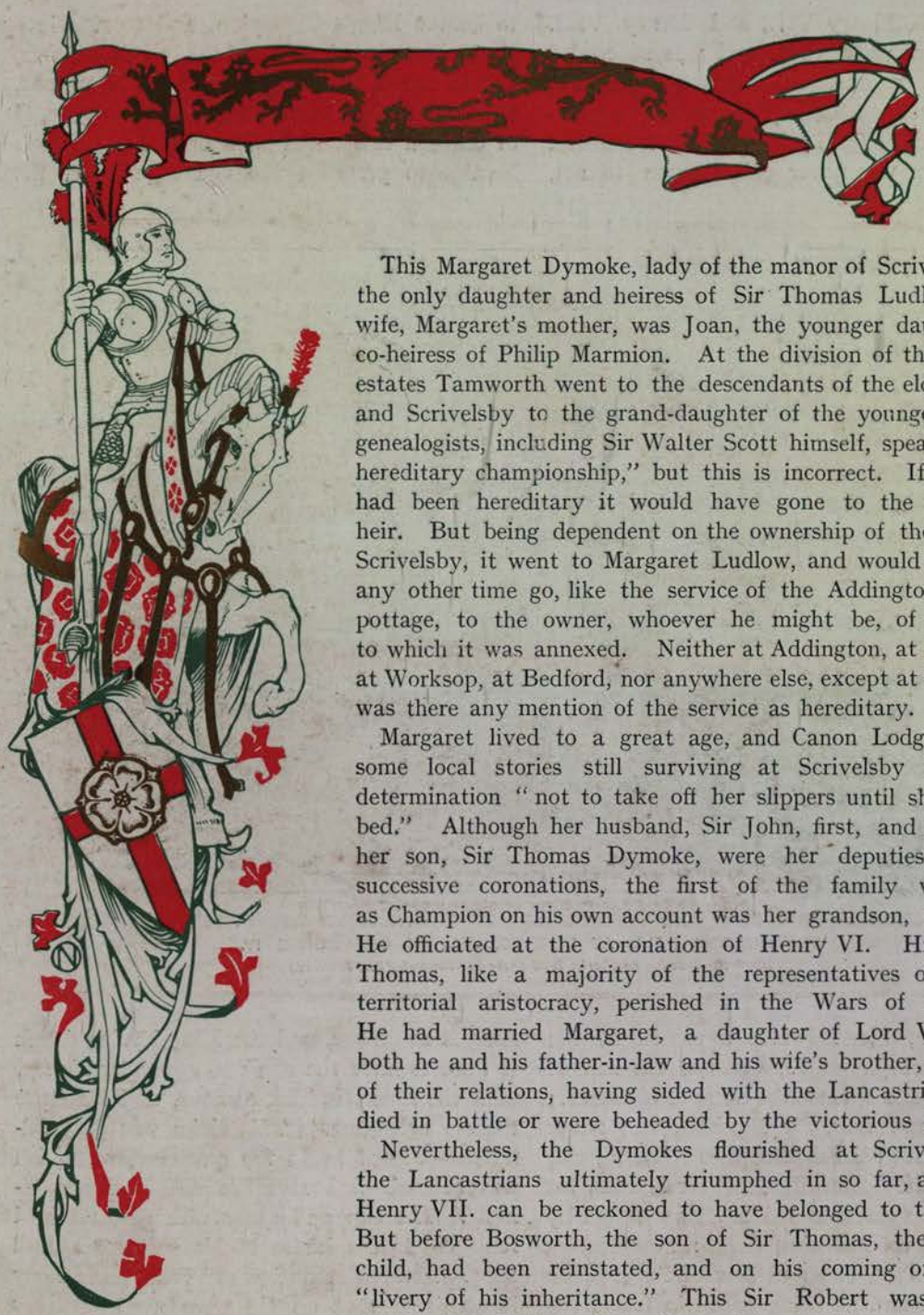
Another poet is also connected in our minds with the history of Scrivelsby. Has not Scott immortalised the name of Marmion?

"They hailed him lord of Fontenaye,
Of Lutterward and Scrivelbaye,
Of Tamworth tower and town."

And he goes on, in a note, to tell us of the history of the family. "Robert de Marmion, Lord of Fontenay, a distinguished follower of the Conqueror, obtained a grant of the castle and town of Tamworth, and also of the manor of Scrivelby, in Lincolnshire. One or both of these noble possessions was held by the honourable service of being the royal champion, as the ancestors of Marmion had formerly been to the Dukes of Normandy." When the male line of the Marmions had become extinct the estates were parted between Baldwin de Freville, who was descended from one co-heiress, and Sir John Dymoke, who represented the other. The championship was held to go with Scrivelby, or Scrivelsby, as the name has long been written; and when Richard II. was to be crowned it was assigned to Margaret, the wife of Sir John Dymoke. This very strong-minded lady was represented by her husband in 1377, and after his death by her son.

COURT OF CLAIMS HELD IN THE PAINTED CHAMBER AT WESTMINSTER BEFORE THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

(From the Drawing by Stephanoff at the Victoria and Albert Museum.)



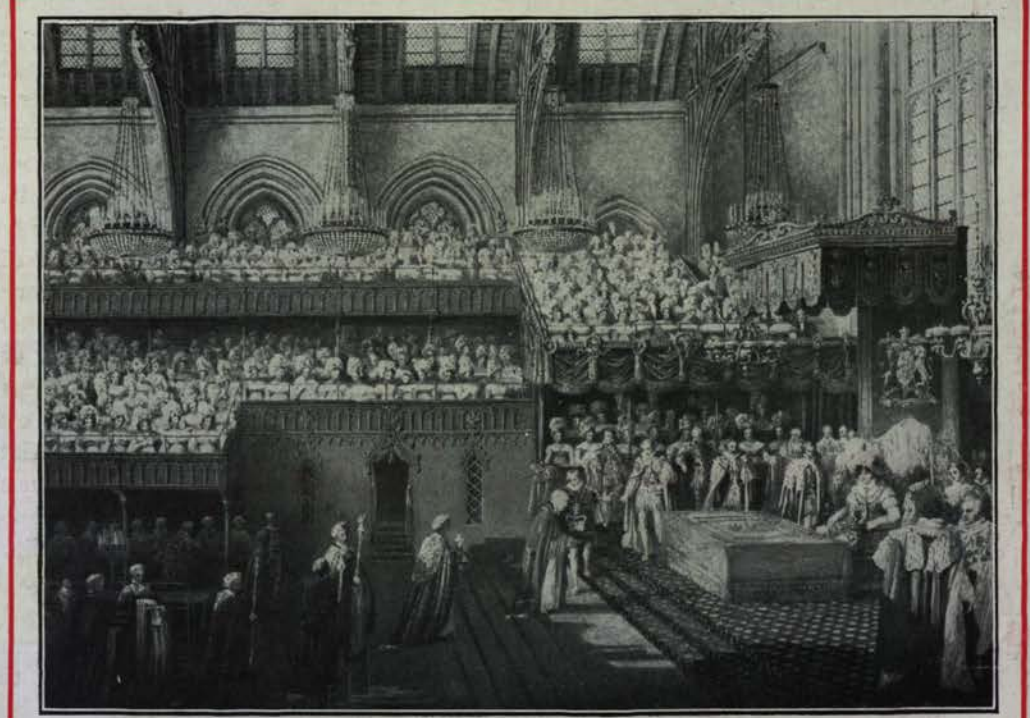
This Margaret Dymoke, lady of the manor of Scrivelsby, was the only daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Ludlow, whose wife, Margaret's mother, was Joan, the younger daughter and co-heiress of Philip Marmion. At the division of the Marmion estates Tamworth went to the descendants of the elder co-heir, and Scrivelsby to the grand-daughter of the younger. Many genealogists, including Sir Walter Scott himself, speak of "the hereditary championship," but this is incorrect. If the office had been hereditary it would have gone to the senior co-heir. But being dependent on the ownership of the manor of Scrivelsby, it went to Margaret Ludlow, and would now or at any other time go, like the service of the Addington mess of pottage, to the owner, whoever he might be, of the estate to which it was annexed. Neither at Addington, at Bilsington, at Worksop, at Bedford, nor anywhere else, except at Scrivelsby, was there any mention of the service as hereditary.

Margaret lived to a great age, and Canon Lodge collected some local stories still surviving at Scrivelsby as to her determination "not to take off her slippers until she went to bed." Although her husband, Sir John, first, and afterwards her son, Sir Thomas Dymoke, were her deputies at three successive coronations, the first of the family who acted as Champion on his own account was her grandson, Sir Philip. He officiated at the coronation of Henry VI. His son, Sir Thomas, like a majority of the representatives of the old territorial aristocracy, perished in the Wars of the Roses. He had married Margaret, a daughter of Lord Welles, and both he and his father-in-law and his wife's brother, and many of their relations, having sided with the Lancastrians, either died in battle or were beheaded by the victorious faction.

Nevertheless, the Dymokes flourished at Scrivelsby, and the Lancastrians ultimately triumphed in so far, at least, as Henry VII. can be reckoned to have belonged to their party. But before Bosworth, the son of Sir Thomas, then a mere child, had been reinstated, and on his coming of age had "livery of his inheritance." This Sir Robert was made a banneret, and figured as Champion at the coronations of

THE DUKE OF YORK. SERJEANTS AT ARMS.

Richard III., Henry VII., and Henry VIII. He survived until 1545, and was succeeded in his manor and office by Sir Edward, who officiated as Champion at the coronations of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. His successor was never called upon to act, but his son, Sir Edward, appeared at the coronation of James I.; Charles, the son of Sir Edward, championed the cause of Charles I.; his uncle and heir, Sir Nicholas, was never Champion, but Sir Edward, who followed, was in office at the Restoration, and Sir Charles, his son, made his claim to the Court appointed by James II. in the following terms: "Sir Charles Dymoke, knight, son and heir of Sir Edward Dymoke, knight, as being seized in fee of the manor of Scrivelsby in the county of Lincoln, to be the King's Champion, and to ride into the Hall, mounted on one of the King's coursers, and in one of the King's best suits of armour, with bases of cloth of gold, and twenty yards of crimson satin, and with one of the King's heralds to proclaim the challenge when the King is at dinner, and the King having drank to him, to have the cup and cover for his fee, with the horse, saddle, armour, and furniture thereto belonging." This claim was duly admitted—except as to the scarlet satin, which was refused—and Dymoke officiated accordingly. The cup and cover which he received remained in the house of his successors until 1875. At the Coronation of William and Mary it was said that an old woman on crutches stepped forward in Westminster Hall and took



PROCESSION OF THE DEAN AND PREBENDARIES OF WESTMINSTER WITH THE REGALIA IN WESTMINSTER HALL, AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

(From the Drawing by Charles Wild at the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

up the Champion's gauntlet, but the story was contradicted, and it is certain that owing to the waning light no one could be very sure what happened that April evening.

The Dymokes continued at Scrivelsby, undergoing only the usual vicissitudes of country families, until the time of George III. As if to prove that the Championship is not hereditary, Lewis, the last of the direct line, left the manor to a cousin, Edward, who was descended from the youngest brother of his ancestor, Sir Charles. An intermediate cousin of a senior line would have become Champion had the office been hereditary. He was passed over, and the younger branch succeeded and only became extinct a few years ago. Of this line was Henry, who figured as Deputy Champion for his father, a clergyman, at the coronation of George IV. Henry was famous in the days of our grandfathers as having ridden into Westminster Hall, the last Champion who ever officiated, between the Duke of Wellington and Lord Anglesey, and three times cast down the gauntlet of defiance to the enemies of the King.

The Champion is depicted on horseback between his supporters in the series of engravings which was published, or at least commenced, by Sir George Nayler, Garter King of Arms, as a record of the coronation of George IV. The subscriptions for this great work were not sufficient. Part was issued in 1824, but it was not all out until 1839. It is now seldom to be met with, but we have had frequent access to the copy in that splendid library at the Guildhall with which the Corporation has so munificently endowed the City of London. In addition, the original drawings, by Pugin, Wild, and Stephanoff, which are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum at South Kensington, have been freely consulted, and some of them copied, by the courtesy of the officials.

ADMISSION TICKET TO THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV. (REDUCED).

This Sir Henry Dymoke, as he eventually became, was not called upon to act for William IV. or Queen Victoria. He seems to have been

PENSIONERS. THE KING. YEOMEN OF THE GUARD. DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, MASTER OF THE HORSE. VICE CHAMBERLAIN. CAPTAIN OF THE PENSIONERS

A BARON OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR.

A TRAIN BEARER.

MARQUESSES OF BUCKINGHAM & EXETER.

DUKES OF MONTROSE & ARGYLL.

USHER OF THE GREEN ROD.

EX-MASTER YEOMAN OF THE GUARD.

EARL OF MOUNTCHARLES.

GENTLEMAN PENSIONER.

COSTUMES AT THE

THE KNIGHT MARSHAL PRECEDING THE SHERIFFS AND RECORDER OF THE CITY.

KNIGHT OF THE GARTER, VICE-CHAMBERLAIN, OFFICER OF JEWEL HOUSE, CONTROLLER AND TREASURER OF THE HOUSEHOLD.

KNIGHTS OF THE BATH, LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH PRIVY COUNCILLORS, THE REGISTRAR OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

in doubt as to his heirs, and by will bequeathed the manor "to the heir at law of John Dymoke, who died at Tetford" in 1782. The late Francis Scaman Dymoke established his succession, and on his death in June, 1893, he was followed by his son, of the same name, who now, as lord of the manor, is called the Honourable the King's Champion.

The Champion's Coronation Cups.

A curious history attaches to some of the family relics. At the death of Sir Henry, he left the seven coronation cups which were in his possession to Queen Victoria. When the Queen found that another Dymoke had succeeded to Scrivelsby, she, with that kindliness which always distinguished her, sent them all back, and a picture of them as they now stand appears in Canon Lodge's book, and is reproduced below.

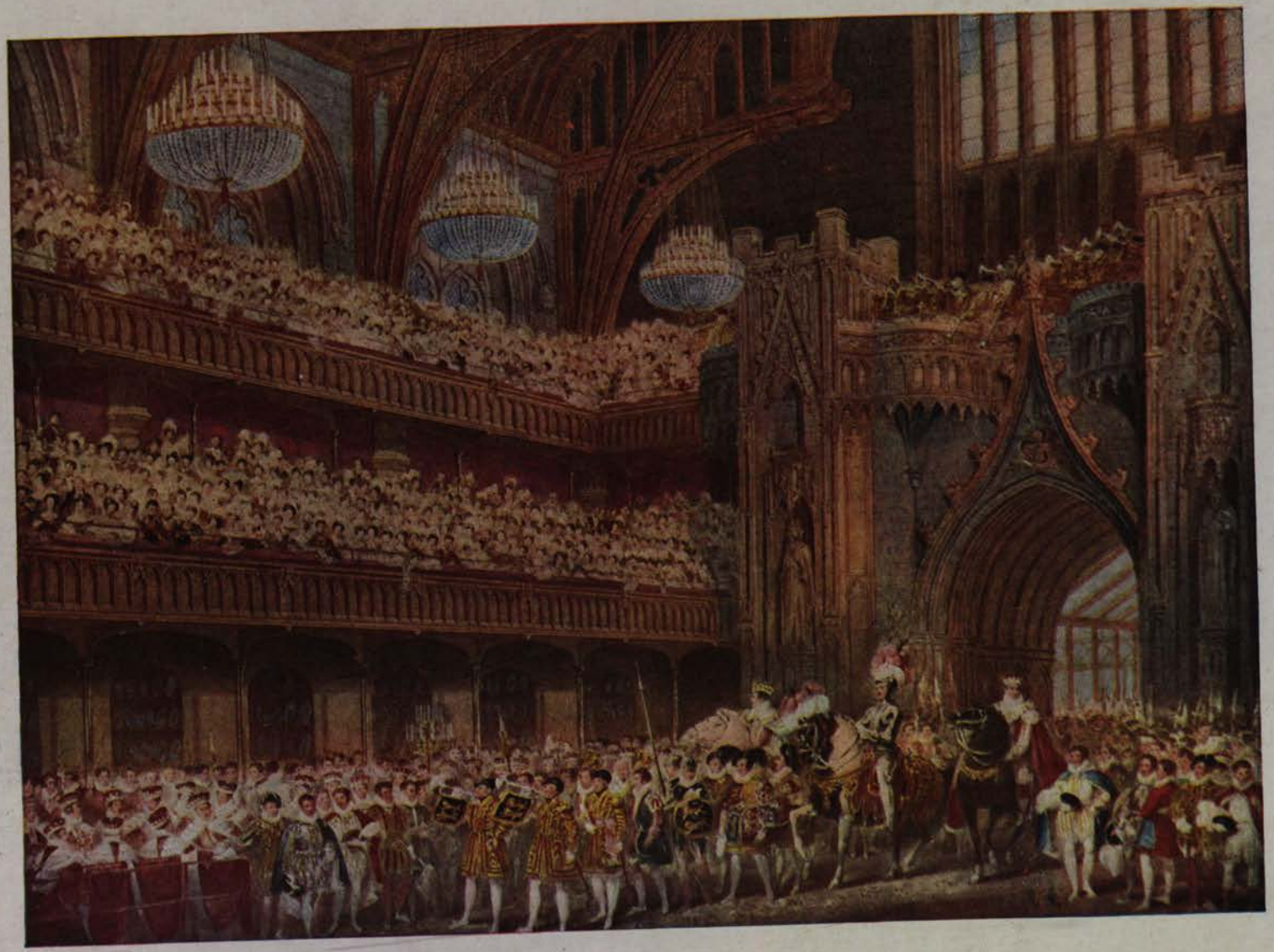
His Suit of Armour.

The rest of the Scrivelsby heirlooms were set up for public auction in 1877, but appear, with one important exception, to have been bought in or withdrawn. The history of the suit of armour which figured as the first lot in the catalogue is interesting. It was of the most beautiful workmanship, being all complete, except the gorget, which seemed to have been supplied from a different suit. It was identified as having been made by an eminent armourer of the name of Jacobi, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to be worn at a tournament at Windsor Castle by Sir Christopher Hatton, and was dated 1585. On the breastplate, beautifully ornamented, was a cipher of the Queen's initial, E. The armour was of a kind of brown metal, which used to be described as purple steel, and, having always been taken good care of, was in the most perfect preservation.

At the Scrivelsby sale it was bought for £1,050, and subsequently appeared in an exhibition of art work in iron and steel which was held, in 1900, in the rooms of the Burlington Club. It was there immediately identified as having belonged to Queen Anne, and as having been selected from the armoury at Windsor by Lewis Dymoke for the coronation of George I. He received it as his perquisite, and it was removed to Scrivelsby. It was observed that though the suit of Sir Christopher Hatton was thus given to the Champion, the horse armour by the same hand remained still at Windsor. It is very pleasant to be able to record that the two are now again united after a separation of nearly a couple of centuries, for almost immediately on the accession of King Edward VII. a few of his personal friends purchased the suit and marked the occasion by returning it once more to Windsor Castle, where his Majesty was graciously pleased to accept it.

THE CHAMPION'S CORONATION CUPS.

(From "Scrivelsby: The Home of the Champions," by the late Rev. S. Lodge, Canon of Lincoln.)



THE CHAMPION ENTERING WESTMINSTER HALL AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

(From the Drawing by Charles Wild, at the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

QUEENS' CORONATIONS

CHAPTER IV.

QUEENS' CORONATIONS.

Queens Consort and Queens Regnant—Our First Reigning Queen—Elinor of Provence: A Feast for the Poor—Isabella—Philippa—Anne of Bohemia—Katharine of France—Elizabeth Wydeville—Elizabeth of York—The Poet Laureate—The Six Queens of Henry VIII.—Anne Boleyn—Mary I.—Queen Jane—Elizabeth: The Passage through London: The Pageants: The Rosemary Branch: The Coronation—Anne of Denmark—Henrietta Maria—Mary of Modena—Mary II.—Anne—Caroline of Anspach—Charlotte—Caroline of Brunswick—Good Queen Adelaide—Queen Victoria; Unpublished Description of her Coronation by an Eye-witness.

OF queens' coronations there are two kinds. It has been customary, when a new king came to the throne, that if he had a wife she should be anointed and crowned with him, although certain ceremonials and observances—as, for instance, taking the oath and sitting in St. Edward's chair—have always been peculiar to a reigning sovereign only. It has been customary, also, that when a king took a wife she should be crowned. And in the second place, the queen to be crowned was sometimes the reigning sovereign. Thus, then, we have had kings and queens, like Henry VIII. and Katharine of Arragon, crowned together, and queens, like Anne Boleyn, in the same reign, crowned separately. So, too, we have had queens, like Mary I. and Elizabeth, who were reigning sovereigns, with no king, and we have had one, at least—Mary II.—who, jointly with the king, was the reigning sovereign, and whose crowning was in most if not all points the same.

Two Kinds of Queens' Coronations.

The interest taken by the nation at large in the hallowing of a female sovereign has always been very great. This interest has been immensely enhanced when a young and inexperienced girl has been called upon to assume the crown and rule a great country. Such reigns as those of Elizabeth, of Anne, and, above all, of that great ruler whose life was such a blessing to her people, whose example is still so prominently before them, and whose loss they still and will long deplore, teach us that, strange as it may seem, a female chieftain has sometimes been a benefit, not a misfortune. It has been cynically remarked that under a woman men have the direction of affairs, a saying but partly true. If we contrast the corrupt courts of such kings as Louis XV.

Female Sovereigns.

of France or Charles II. of England with those in which a purer atmosphere has been maintained, whether in our own or a foreign land, under a queen like Elizabeth or Victoria, we must also take into the account such cases as that of Christina of Sweden, Catherine of Russia, or Mary Tudor of England, in proving that the personal qualities of the monarch, whether male or female, form a very powerful factor in bringing about a good or an evil result. Had Queen Elizabeth resembled her nearest female relatives, such as Mary of Scotland; had Queen Victoria followed her nearest male relatives, such as George IV., the results in either case would have been very different.

A knowledge of the facts is essential, however, before we can draw any moral or philosophical conclusions from the events of history. In a work of this kind we should not let any course of events, however striking, strange, interesting, or pathetic, in the past, permit us to forget the benefits which Great Britain has derived and is still deriving, and, we may reasonably expect, will long derive, from the illustrious reign just closed, and to take every opportunity of expressing our gratitude for it.

Who was our first reigning queen? This is a question more easy to ask than to answer. Under the Saxons, as we know, a female monarch did not exist. The story of Queen Edburga or Eadburh has been often told. It is familiar to all readers of Freeman's books, as well as to students of the old Chronicle and the works of William of Malmesbury and Asser. The English, and especially the West Saxons, who eventually became predominant in the land, made a law in consequence of the crimes of this princess, the daughter of Offa the Great, and the wife of King Beorhtric, that there should no more be a queen in their land. Whether they thought that every queen would poison her husband's friends, as Edburga poisoned Worr, or whether they thought that by depriving a king's wife of the title of queen they would disarm her possible jealousy, does not appear. We know, however, that Emma, who was the wife successively of two kings and the mother of three, was not called queen but "the Lady," and when one of her royal sons, Edward the Confessor, married a wife, "the old Lady." So, too, Edward's wife, Edith, was called "the Lady" like her mother-in-law, and neither of them, so far as we know, was ever crowned.

Mention has already been made of another Edith, the descendant of Alfred the Great, who was crowned, and who, at her marriage with Henry I., or at her coronation—it is not certain which—took the Norman name of Matilda in place of Edith.

But though a crown called Queen Edith's was preserved at Westminster with another called King Alfred's (as we have already seen), there had been a crowned queen in England before her. Her husband's mother was Matilda, of whom one of our historians has said that there is nothing remarkable to be recorded of her except that nothing remarkable is recorded of her. This was not the opinion of some other writers, who have told us many things, and, in particular, that she was the first Queen of England, and was duly hallowed, anointed, and crowned on Whit Sunday, May 11th, 1067. Alred or Aldred, Archbishop of York, officiated, and the ceremony took place in Westminster Abbey. Of Queen Matilda-Edith we have spoken; the third queen to be so called was Adeliza of Brabant, the second wife of King Henry. She was crowned by Archbishop Ralf, but whether at Westminster or, as some say, at St. Paul's, does not appear. That was in 1121. King Stephen's wife, the third Matilda, was crowned on Easter Day (the 22nd of March), 1136, at Westminster.

The First Queen of England.

It is when we reach Stephen's rival, the Empress Matilda, the widow of the Emperor Henry V. and wife of Geoffrey "Plantagenet," the first of that afterwards illustrious name, that we recognise a queen in her own right. But we do not find that she was ever crowned, and after her second husband's death in 1150, and a very brief and partial triumph, which she threw away by her haughty and tyrannical behaviour in London, she retired in favour of her son, Henry II., who peacefully succeeded in 1154.

The Queen survived till 1167, and at her death, according to the chronicler Matthew Paris, an epitaph—or, as Caxton would have called it, "an epitaphy"—was made upon her which, in unusually good Latin for the period—though Henry I., her father, had

LOOSING THE PALFREYS AT THE CORONATION OF EDWARD I. (p. 89).

been surnamed Beauclerk—described her as follows:—

Ortu magna, viro major, sed maximæ partu,
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.

Literally—

Great by birth, greater by marriage, greatest in her son,
Here lies Henry's daughter, wife and mother.

Elinor of Provence.

When King Henry III. married Elinor, the daughter of the Count of Provence, in 1236, the Queen was crowned on the 20th January, having on the previous day ridden in great state through the City from Canterbury, where the marriage had taken place on the 14th. Stow describes the procession, the citizens clad in long garments embroidered with gold and with silk of divers colours, and the streets adorned with hangings and illuminated with lamps, cressets, and other lights. Each of the three hundred and sixty citizens carried a silver cup. A banquet was held in the Great Hall of William Rufus at Westminster. Matthew Paris describes the number of nobles, the vast crowd of people, the multitude of players and actors, the Earl of Chester carrying Curtana, and the Earl of Pembroke the "rod of the Marshalsea." The Earl of Warren officiated as butler for the Earl of Arundel, a minor. "The citizens of London poured wine abundantly into precious cups, and the citizens of Winchester had oversight of the kitchen and napery." The chronicler sums up, "Whatever the world pours forth of pleasure and glory was there especially displayed."

Feasting the Poor.

Although Henry III. as he grew older contrived to throw away the loyal feelings of his people, his conduct on this occasion reminds the modern reader of an event of our own days and of a king who acted literally on the Gospel precept, "When you give a lunch or a dinner do not ask your friends or your brothers or your relations or rich neighbours for fear they should invite you in return, and so you should be repaid. Instead of that, when you give a party invite the poor, or the crippled, or the lame, or the blind, and then you will be really happy." On this occasion Henry feasted six thousand poor folk, the weak and the aged, in the Great Hall, and the little children in the rooms of the King and the Queen, in the old palace of Westminster.

Elinor of Castile.

Another grand function was at the coronation of Edward I. on his return from Palestine. where his Queen, Elinor, had made herself so famous in English history by sucking the poison from the wounded king's arm. We have a distinct mention of a progress through the City, and in Cheap, where the wooden booths which were the predecessors of the market streets of later times, were cleared away and the conduit at the west end, near St. Paul's, ran with white and red wine "like rain water." Henry III. had added the outer ward and curtain to the Tower of London, and had built the palace and glazed the windows of the chapel of St. John. It is therefore probable that this is the first time a king and queen passed from the Tower through the City before a coronation at Westminster.

Edward and Elinor were crowned on the 19th August, 1274, Alexander, King of Scotland, being present among the peers. He and many of the English nobility, we hear, on this occasion, rode to the banquet on their palfreys, five hundred or more in number; and when they alighted at the door turned the horses loose, that whoever chose, or was able, might take possession of them. We are not told how these lavish knights got home again.

The "She-Wolf of France."

The beautiful Isabella, the daughter of Philip le Bel, whom Gray calls "she-wolf of France," was crowned with Edward II. after the marriage. Full descriptions of the double ceremony exist, but they are chiefly taken up with complaints of the insolence of Gaveston, the King's favourite. Two circumstances may be noted. Brayley tells us that a bill for ten shillings for seacoal for the coronation remained unpaid fifteen years later. Also, that the crowd was so great that Sir John Bakewell was crushed to death.

In 1329 Edward II. married Philippa of Hainalt at York, and she was crowned at Westminster in April of the same year. Richard II. was married to Anne of Bohemia in 1382, and the coronation followed on the 22nd of January, the Queen coming over Blackheath to London Bridge and being conveyed by the citizens in procession to Westminster. Great tournaments were held on this occasion, and

general pardons were granted for minor offences. Anne died in 1394, and Richard married a second wife, Isabella, daughter of Charles VI., a child of eight at the time. There was no coronation, and before the little Queen was grown up, Richard had lost his throne and soon after his life.

When Henry IV. married his second wife, crowned with all the ceremonies to so great an estate appertaining or requisite. After which solemnity ended, she was again with great pomp conveyed into Westminster Hall, and there set in the throne at the table of marble at the upper end of the hall." The banquet was all of fish because it was Lent, and among the "subtleties" was an image of Saint Katharine

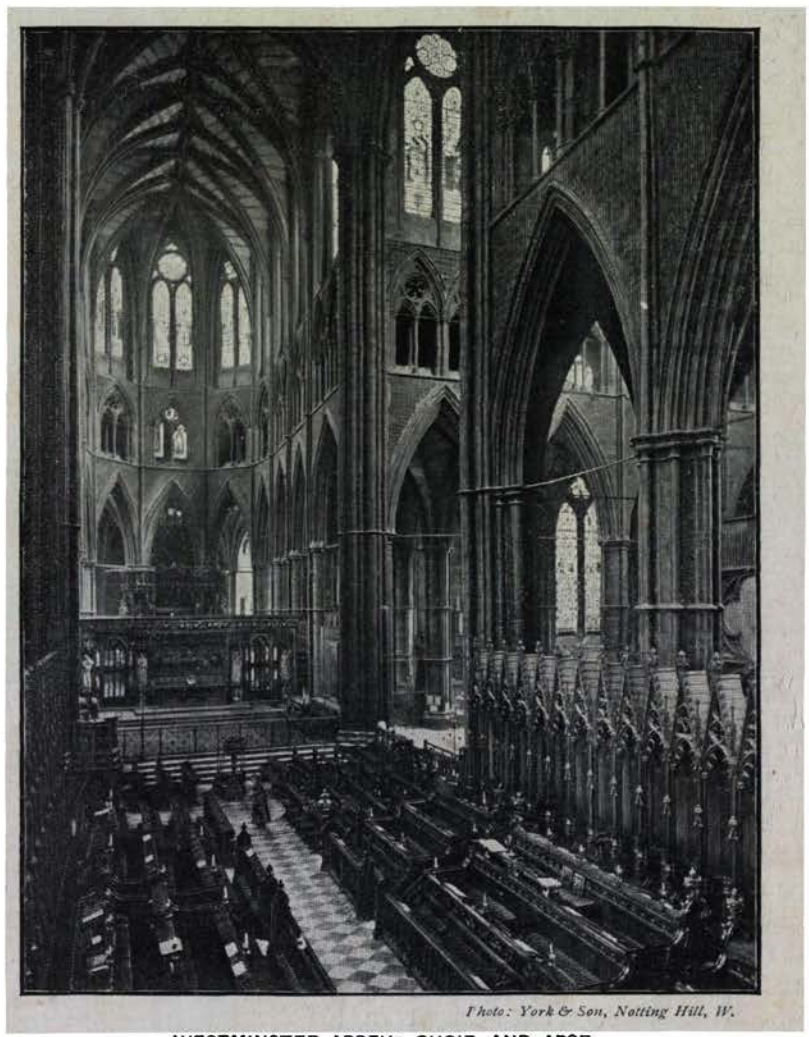


Photo: York & Son, Notting Hill, W.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY: CHOIR AND APSE.

Joan of Navarre, widow of the Duke of Brittany, the bride was conducted through the City in state, and was duly crowned in the Abbey church at Westminster, February, 1403. The marriage of Henry V. with Katharine of France has been mentioned already; the coronation of the young Queen took place at Westminster on the 24th of February, 1421, when we read that "she was anointed and

Henry V.'s Queen Katharine.

holding a book, with an appropriate sentiment in French rhyme :—

Ce est la signe
Et du roy pur tenir joy
Et a tout sa gent
Elle mete sa entent.

Some of the dishes bore the King's motto, *Une sans plus*. In the August of the following year Henry V. died, and a few years later, in or before 1429, the Queen married

Owen Tudor, said to have been a Welsh soldier of her guard. Her eldest son by him, Edmund, Earl of Richmond, was father of Henry VII.

Another strange marriage was that of Edward IV. He chose Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Grey of Groby, a Lancastrian knight, who was killed fighting against King Edward. The marriage was private, but on the 26th of May, 1465, the Queen was crowned at Westminster with the usual ceremonial. Although her daughter, Elizabeth, who became the queen of Henry VII., may, legally speaking, be described as a reigning queen, as she was the eldest daughter, and after the death of her two brothers, Edward V. and the Duke of York, heiress of the crown of Edward IV., she was never so designated in her lifetime. On the contrary, Henry Tudor, her husband, was intensely jealous of the house of York, and after her marriage in January, 1486, the coronation was deferred for nearly two years, and did not take place till November, 1487.

Elizabeth of York, Wife of Henry VII.

There are some curious particulars of the banquet. The King and his mother, the Lady Margaret, looked on from an oriel window which was erected for the purpose on the left side of the Hall. Similar windows, of about the same date, may be seen in St. Bartholomew's, in Westminster Abbey, and also in St. George's Chapel at Windsor. The Queen presided at the feast, and her relatives looked on "privily and at their pleasure," as we read. On this occasion, apparently, we first hear of the appointment of a Poet Laureate. Perhaps the wretched French doggrel quoted above may have led to this step; possibly the Master Bernard Andrea, evidently a foreigner, who was given the office may have written them, and others of the kind. But learning and the arts were just then in a transitional stage; and many in England were looking anxiously to Italy for some rays of the new learning. The wonderful monument of the Lady Margaret herself by Torregiano must have been one of the first results of the movement, but at this coronation feast the old "gothic" ideas were still dominant, and among the dainty dishes set before the Queen were "various productions of ancient cookery, as feisaunt royall, swan with chawdron, capons of high greece, and pike in latymer sawse." There was much minstrelsy, and at the end the Lord Mayor and citizens presented fruit and wafers with "ipocras." This hippocras was a kind of cordial which is mentioned by Chaucer a century earlier, and was supposed to be compounded according to a

Dainty Dishes.

prescription of Hippocrates, and to contain wine with herbs and spices. Having duly partaken of the cordial Queen Elizabeth departed, we are told, "with God's blessing and to the rejoicing of many a true Englishman's heart."

The first of the six queens of Henry VIII. was crowned with him, as we saw in the last chapter. The procession of his second wife through the City to her coronation was remembered long after. The magnificence of the ceremonial contrasted with the high hopes of the reformers' party which had its greatest stronghold in London. The terrible tragedy which followed so quickly, and the doom which overtook the unhappy object of so much adulation and such expectations, were brought forcibly back to men's minds when, thirty-five years later, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, who had been named after her grandmother, Elizabeth of York, once more raised the spirits depressed by the gloomy events of the reign of the first queen regnant.

The Queens of Henry VIII.

The first and second only of King Henry's wives were crowned. The other four, Jane Seymour, Anne of Cleves, Katharine Howard, and Katharine Par, owing, no doubt, to various circumstances, were never so honoured. Jane died one year, five months, and twenty-four days after her marriage, as the precise Sandford reminds us. The brief tenure of the consort's crown of Anne of Cleves and of the two Katharines who close the list need not delay us here; but the great interest excited at the time by the elevation of Anne Boleyn, the great-granddaughter of a lord mayor whom some of the citizens then living could remember, must not be passed over.

Anne Boleyn.

Shakespeare, like Hall, the chronicler, and Stow in his "Annals," all speak of Queen Anne Boleyn and of the coronation as an event which moved the multitude and stirred the popular mind to the utmost. Shakespeare, in particular, may have been anxious to gratify Queen Elizabeth by placing her mother in the most favourable light, and to do this without disparagement to her father was, of course, possible in a dramatic work where the author could present such scenes as suited him and reject the others. Hall and Stow wrote under other conditions; but a powerful writer of our own day, Froude the historian, has compiled from these and from other sources a narrative which cannot be surpassed in its picturesque description both of the pageant and of the

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

ANNE BOLEYN.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

attitude of the people. As Shakespeare says, "Such joy I never saw before." In another place he records the citizens' admiration:—

> Thou hast the sweetest face I ever looked on.
> Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel.

And again—

> Which when the people
> Had the full view of, such a noise arose
> As the shrouds make at sea in a stiff tempest.
> As loud, and to as many tunes: hats, cloaks—
> Doublets, I think—flew up; and had their faces
> Been loose, this day they had been lost.

The Queen had come to the Tower by boat from Greenwich on the 19th May, 1533. The King awaited her at the arch of St. Thomas's Tower. Stow describes the salutes, "divers peals of guns," and a "marvellous shot out of the Tower." He says of the crowd on both shores, "he that saw it not will not believe it."

A few days later—on the 21st according to Stow, or the 31st according to the modern historian, whose accuracy was not his strong point—the procession to Westminster took place. The Queen was carried in a litter of "white cloth of gold" by two palfreys, covered with white damask, and led by footmen. She was dressed in white, her mantle furred with ermine, her hair hanging down, with a gold circlet "full of rich stones." A canopy of cloth of gold was held over her. Many ladies both in chariots and on horseback followed, and at the corner of Fenchurch and Gracechurch Streets, as well as at other points on the route, there were "marvellous cunning pageants." Apollo and the Muses sat on Parnassus, and the Helicon was represented by a fountain of white marble which ran abundantly with Rhenish wine till night. At another place St. Anne met her, at a third the three Graces—in short, the mediæval saints and the heathen gods and goddesses were represented in a mingling of the old learning and the new which must have puzzled beholders.

On the 1st June, being Whit Sunday, the coronation took place in Westminster Abbey, the anointing being performed by Archbishop Cranmer, and the crown placed upon her head. At the feast in the Hall the Earl of Arundel acted as butler, assisted by the citizens, the Lord Mayor receiving the cup of gold from the Queen's hands.

On the 1st May, 1536, as she was passing from Greenwich towards London, she was met by the Duke of Norfolk and conducted to the Tower, whence she never again emerged. On the 15th she was tried in the Hall, which has long disappeared, was condemned, and on the 19th she was beheaded by a French headsman with a sword, and her body buried in the new church of St. Peter on the Tower Green.

The next Queen's coronation was that of Mary I. King Edward had died on the 6th July, 1553, at Greenwich, but the Duke of Northumberland and the Council concealed the fact until they had summoned the Lord Mayor and six aldermen on the 8th, and also the King's will, by which the crown was left to his cousin Jane, the wife of one of the Duke's younger sons, Lord Guldeford, or Guildford, Dudley. Meanwhile an attempt was made to intercept the king's elder sister, Mary, who was at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, and who was at first disposed to fly towards the east coast. Jane was at her father-in-law's house, Syon, and on the 10th she descended the Thames to the Tower, where she was received as Queen, and was duly proclaimed the same day. The day before, a letter having been received by the Council from Mary, claiming the crown, they had replied announcing the accession of Queen Jane, and this is the date of a state paper mentioned by Ellis.

Mary Tudor.

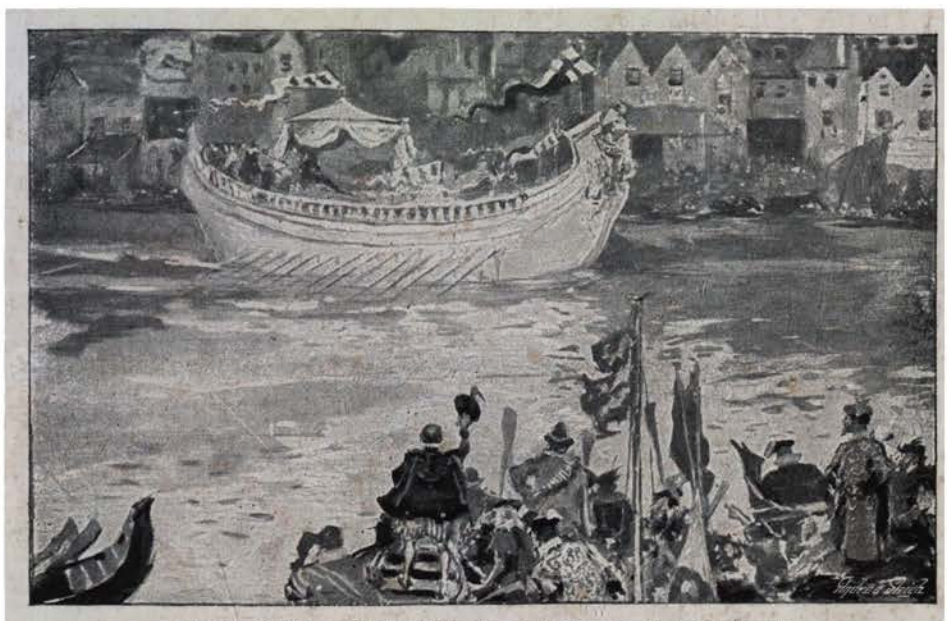
On the 19th July the reign of Jane, which had lasted barely thirteen days, came to an end, Queen Mary being proclaimed in London that afternoon.

The wars of the disputed successions of the kings of the Lancastrian and Yorkist lines were still fresh in men's memories. Unpopular as Mary's religious opinions doubtless were, the people feared a repetition of the troubles of their fathers more than anything she could do, and, at worst, she appeared to be the next heir to Edward VI., while, of other possible claimants, the Lady Jane Dudley was not even in the direct line of succession. The scheme of Northumberland broke down at once. The Londoners welcomed Mary with enthusiasm. "The number of caps that were thrown up at the proclamation were not to be told." The new Queen came to London on the 3rd August, and her half-sister, Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter, came with her. "The Queen's grace stayed at Algate

Street before the stage where the poor children stood, and heard an oration that one of them made, but she said nothing to them," so we read, and the Lord Mayor and aldermen conducted her to the Tower, the Lord Mayor with the mace in his hands.

On the last day of September Queen Mary passed through the City on her way to Westminster sitting in a chariot drawn by six horses. "She sat in a gown of purple velvet furred with powdered ermine, having on her head a caul of cloth of tinsel, beset with pearl and stone, and above the same upon her head a round circlet of gold beset so richly with precious stones that the value thereof was inestimable." We cannot help wondering if this was the same circlet which Anne Boleyn had worn twenty years before. There cannot have been time after Mary's accession to prepare a new one.

The Lady Elizabeth and the Lady Anne of Cleves followed in another chariot, and we read of three pageants prepared by the Genoese, Flemish, and Florentine merchants which were shown respectively at Fenchurch, Gracechurch, and Cornhill, while the conduits ran wine, the



QUEEN MARY PROCEEDING BY WATER TO WESTMINSTER.

aldermen presented her with a purse containing a thousand marks in gold, and "one Peter, a Dutchman, stood on the weathercock of St. Paul's steeple" waving a banner forty-five feet long, and had for his pains £16 13s. 4d. given him by the city authorities. The Queen rested that night at Whitehall. The next day she passed on to the old palace of Westminster by boat from Whitehall Stairs, and on foot, the roadway carpeted with blue cloth, to the Abbey church, where the ceremony of the coronation was performed with the old rites by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. Both the archbishops and the Bishop of London were in the Tower. The service, which began soon after eleven in the forenoon, lasted nearly five hours, and was followed by the banquet, at which the Lord Mayor and twelve citizens "kept the high cupboard of plate as butlers and the Queen gave to the mayor for his fee a cup of gold with a cover, weighing seventeen ounces."

The marriage of Mary and Philip II. was most unpopular in London. The King paid several visits to the City, where he was received with formality. When he came over in 1558 he did not increase the goodwill of the citizens by engaging the Queen in his war with France, one of the first incidents of which was the loss of Calais. When the Queen died, in November of the same year, she told her attendants that "the loss of Calais would be found at her heart."

Queen Elizabeth.

The accession of Elizabeth was marked by an outburst of popular rejoicing, of which faint echoes are still to be heard in the City. In some of the older churches sightseers are shown the silken ropes which the new Queen gave to

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
QUEEN ELIZABETH.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

the ringers of joybells on the 17th November.

On the 18th she arrived at Highgate from Hatfield, and was met by the Lord Mayor and vast crowds of the citizens, who conducted her to the Charterhouse. There she remained till the 28th, and then made a public progress through the streets. Entering at Cripplegate she went by London Wall to "Blanch-Appleton, Mark Lane, and Tower Street, amid the joyful and incessant acclamations of an incredible multitude." As Froude has expressed it, to them her accession "was as the rising of the sun."

A curious tract, which has several times been reprinted, tells with great minuteness the story of "the passage of our most drad Soveraigne Lady Quene Elizabeth" through London to Westminster the day before her coronation. A few of the quaint old writer's anecdotes must suffice. The people, he says, were wonderfully ravished with the loving answers and gestures of their princess. As she walked through the Tower gate to her chariot she stopped for a minute to repeat a prayer of praise and thanksgiving at being "spared to behold this joyful day," comparing herself to Daniel, delivered out of "the den from the cruelty of the greedy and raging lions"—a simile perhaps suggested by the Lion's Tower close by which she was passing as she went out. "For in all her passage," we read, "she did not only show her most gracious love toward her people in general, but also privately; if the baser personages had offered her grace any flowers or such-like as a signification of their goodwill, or moved to her any suit, she most gently, to the common rejoicing of all lookers on and the private comfort of the party, heard their requests."

At Fenchurch, according to the old custom, the pageants began. "A child in costly apparel" was appointed to repeat a copy of verses in Alexandrine measure, and she stopped and waited till the cheering had subsided to listen "to his welcoming oration." "Here was noted," we are told, "in the Queen's Majesty's countenance, during the time that the child spake, besides a perpetual attentiveness in her face, a marvellous change in look, as the child's words touched either her person or the people's tongues or hearts." The four long verses are dreary in the extreme, though they were composed in the time of Shakespeare and Spenser; and a translation into Latin is no better.

A kind of historical play was acted at Gracechurch Street corner, in which Henry VIII. was represented, together with his father and mother, the red and white roses, and "the right worthy Lady Queen Anne, wife to the said King Henry the Eighth and mother to our most sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth that now is." The writer gives a long account of the scene, which must have resembled in many particulars the play of Shakespeare already mentioned. The Queen had her chariot brought back into a suitable position and listened attentively to the explanation which was made to her by a child. "Thereupon she thanked the City, praised the fairness of the work, and promised that she would do her whole endeavour for the continued preservation of concord as the pageant did import."

Some of the other pageants were equally elaborate, and all have a certain interest. As Dean Stanley observes, they were partly historical and partly theological; but he seems to miss their full significance. When Queen

Elizabeth's mother went through the City, as we have seen, there was a rivalry between the old saintly legends and the scarcely understood symbolism revealed by the new classical learning. In 1533 these forces were acting and reacting in men's minds. By 1559 the whole conditions were altered. The saintly legends were as dead as the classical, but more—Mary's reign had not only killed them, but had made them offensive. In all the Elizabethan pageants the keynote is Protestant. Every scene was intended as a protest in itself. Many have doubted the sincerity of the Queen's own views in this respect, but there can be no doubt as to those of her people. They do not mention the events of recent years. It would have been in bad taste to do so; but on the events which accompanied the brief triumph of Elizabeth's mother, the Protestant Queen,

"When Gospel light first dawned from Boleyn's eyes,"

they did not restrain themselves; and this attitude, as we learn from an examination of Shakespeare's play of *Henry VIII.*, was no doubt the same to the end of the century and of the life of the Queen. The fear of the Queen of Scots' succession, the Spanish Armada, and the continual provocation of the Jesuit plots against the Queen's life, forced her, however unwillingly, to acquiesce. At one end of Cornhill was an allegorical scene, "the seat of worthy Governance," where Pure Religion trampled on Superstition, Love of Subjects on Rebellion, Wisdom on Folly, and Justice on Bribery—to enumerate but half the figures—and the verses to expound the allegory were duly given in English and Latin. A similar pageant was in Cheap; and everywhere we read the same—namely, that before the verses could be heard an attempt had to be made "that the people's noise might be stayed."

At the other end of Cheap, by the conduit, was a fresh scene. "It was told her Grace that there was placed Time. 'Time?' quoth she, 'and Time hath brought me hither.'" A Bible in English was then presented to her by Truth, and next a purse containing a thousand marks in gold, and at every presentation, great or small, Elizabeth seems to have made a speech, long or short. When we remember that this procession took place on the 14th January, and that the Queen was only twenty-four years of age, her powers of endurance were marvellous. The chronicler tells us nothing about the weather, or how a midwinter day was made long enough for all these speeches and all these verses. He makes it clear,

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

apparently remembering the part the Flemings and Italians played in welcoming Queen Mary six years before, that all these shows were got up by London only. "Thus the Queen's Highness passed through the city, which, *without any foreign person*, of itself beautified itself."

He adds a string of personal anecdotes. Thus, she saw an aged citizen weeping, and one of her knights asked why he wept. "I warrant you," said she, "it is for gladness." And so it appeared, for, says our historian, "the party's cheer (countenance) was moved for very pure gladness for the sight of her Majesty's person."

Again, in Cheapside she smiled, "for that she heard one say, 'Remember old King Henry the Eighth.'" Henry, we know, had always been popular with the Londoners.

One more example must suffice. "How many nosegays did her Grace receive at poor women's hands! how ofttimes stayed she her chariot when she saw any simple body offer to speak to her Grace! A branch of rosemary, given to her Grace with a supplication by a poor woman about Fleet Bridge, was seen in her chariot till her Grace came to Westminster, not without the marvellous wondering of such as knew the presenter and noted the Queen's most gracious receiving and keeping the same."

The next day the coronation took place in the Abbey, but with maimed rites in some respects. There was no Archbishop of Canterbury, Pole having died on the same day as Queen Mary. Bonner, who as Bishop of London should have taken the Primate's place, was in the Tower as a prisoner. Though the last Abbot of Westminster was present, it must have been unwillingly, and all episcopal functions were fulfilled by the Bishop of Carlisle, Owen Oglethorpe, who was Dean of the Chapel Royal. He died soon after, as his enemies said, of "taking thought," but he had been deprived in 1559 and survived at least to the end of that year. The Archbishop of York, Nicholas Heath, was too closely identified with the views of the late Queen, and he was deprived a few months later. It was said that Elizabeth was displeased with the oil used for the anointing, and complained while changing her robes that it "smelt ill," but whether she meant to reflect on the abbot, Fekenham, who had prepared it, or on the system which placed an abbot where her father had placed a dean, or because she disliked the abbot on personal grounds, does not very clearly appear.

A Coronation without an Archbishop.

At the coronation of James I. his queen, Anne of Denmark, refused to conform to that part of the service in which the newly crowned sovereigns were to take the Holy Communion; she had already once changed the form of her faith when, having been brought up a Lutheran, she had, as Queen of Scotland, become a Presbyterian.

Anne of Denmark.

Of the next English Queen, Henrietta Maria, there is little to be said here. Her refusal to be crowned on account of her faith produced a painful impression when religious animosities ran so high. "Her conduct on this occasion," says Jesse, "presented the first of that long catalogue of errors which eventually cost her husband his head and her descendants the sovereignty over these realms. She contented herself with beholding the procession from an apartment in the Gatehouse, Westminster, overlooking Palace Yard, which had been fitted up purposely for her accommodation." While the ceremony was going on, she and her ladies were described by an eye-witness as behaving with undue levity.

Henrietta Maria.

Katharine of Braganza was never crowned, but in the succeeding reign Mary of Modena was joined with James II. in the ceremonial of which Sandford has left so careful an account. The communion service was wholly omitted; no Bible was presented, and it was reported that at the last moment the coronation oath, as actually administered, was altered by the officiating prelate. Whether this was the case or not, it is evident that, while the people were anxious that there should be no disturbance of the succession, they viewed the coronation of James and his Italian queen as that of another Queen Mary had been viewed one hundred and thirty-three years before—with hope, but hardly with expectation. The ceremony was performed by Archbishop Sancroft. The sermon was preached by Bishop Turner, of Ely. The state of public opinion is indicated by the way in which small accidents and coincidences were noticed and unfavour-

Mary of Modena.

able presages derived from the slightest occurrences. There was no creation of Knights of the Bath. The least superstitious remarked it, and the crown tottering on the King's head, a window falling which was painted with the royal arms, a broken canopy above the thrones, and a torn flag—all were ill omens.

The coronation of Mary II., together with her husband, William III., was a great historical and political event. It awoke little popular enthusiasm. Men's hearts failed them for fear. Wars abroad or even so near as Ireland, and the rebellion a few years later in Scotland, must have been events easily foreseen even by the most shortsighted student of history. But in one respect it is well worthy of notice. For the third time in our country a reigning queen was crowned; for the first and last time a prince consort was received and hallowed as king. The service was examined and for the first time prescribed by Parliament. The form of the coronation oath was strictly settled. Dean Stanley, in his "Memorials of Westminster Abbey," summed up the circumstances of the ceremony very succinctly: "There were many peculiarities in the spectacle. The double coronation was such as had never been seen before. The tall Queen and short King walked side by side, not as sovereign and consort, but as joint sovereigns, with the sword between them. For the first time a second chair of state was provided, which has since been habitually used for the queen-consort. Into this chair Mary was lifted, like

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

MARY OF MODENA.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

Mary II.

her husband, girt with the sword, and invested with the symbols of sovereignty. The Princess Anne, who stood near, said, 'Madam, I pity your fatigue.' The Queen

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
QUEEN MARY II.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

turned sharply with the words, 'A crown, sister, is not so heavy as it seems.' Behind the altar rose, for the first time, the seats of the assembled Commons. There was a full attendance of the lay magnates of the realm, including even some who had voted for a regency. Amongst the gifts was (as at the installation of Cromwell) presented the Bible, now and henceforward as 'the most valuable thing that this world contains.'"

Another queen regnant followed Mary II., but at the coronation of Queen Anne her husband took his place not as king consort but among the peers of his wife's realm. He was the only prince present, and therefore, possibly, the fact that he took precedence of even the archbishops and of the great officers of state was less apparent than if he had been one of a numerous royal family. He seems always to have been described as Prince George, or Prince George of Denmark, but he was a naturalised Englishman, and bore the titles in the English peerage of Duke of Cumberland, Earl of Kendal, and Baron Ockingham, which had been conferred on him by William and Mary. The Queen was suffering from gout, and had some difficulty in standing or kneeling. Archbishop Tenison officiated, and the Archbishop of York, Sharp, preached the sermon. At the banquet Charles Dymoke, of Scrivelsby, officiated as champion.

Queen Anne.

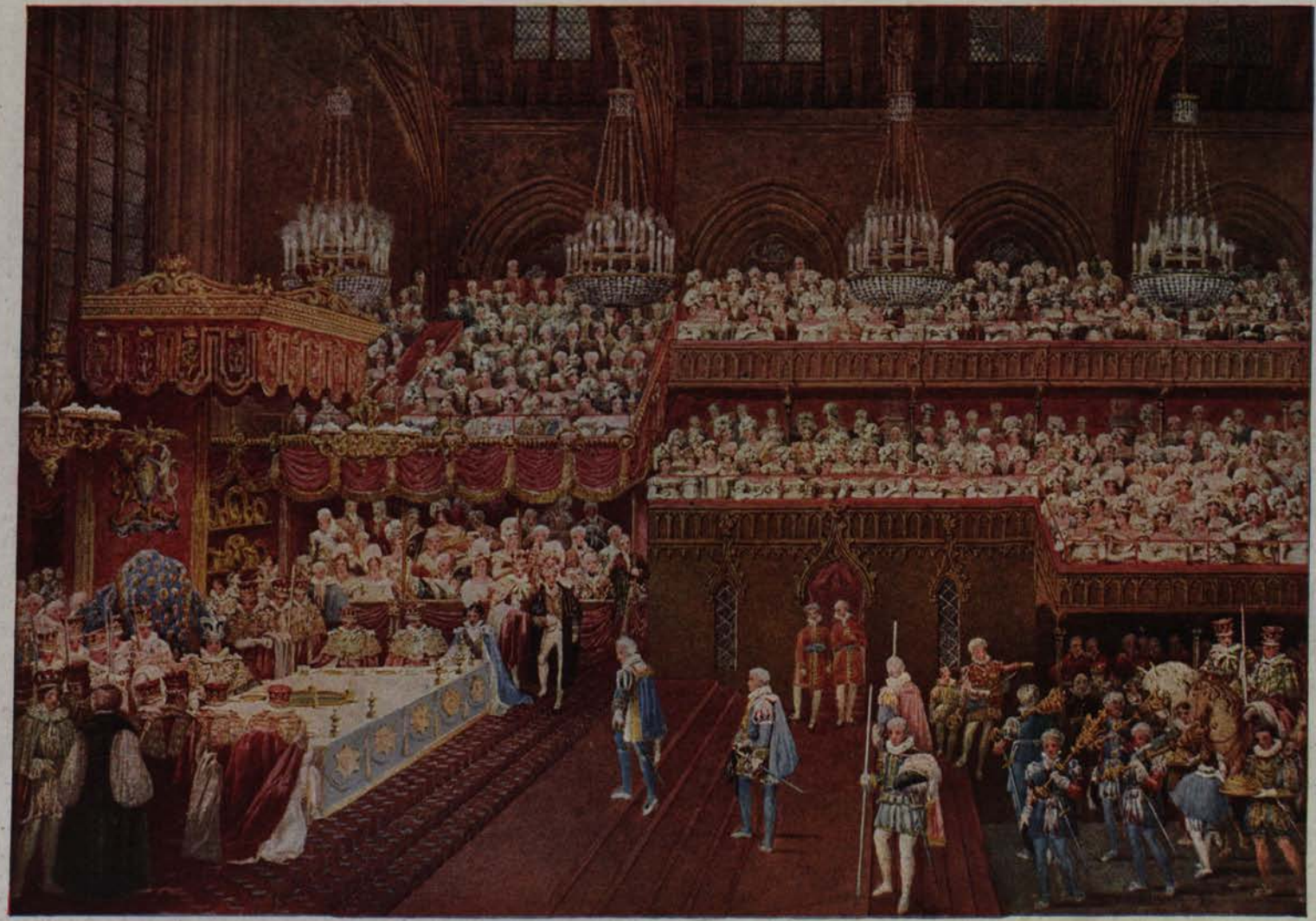
The coronations of Caroline, queen of George II., and of Charlotte, queen of George III., need not delay us. The first-named is said to have borrowed jewels to enhance the magnificence of what she wore, which she had gradually accumulated as princess; for the old King had given away to his German favourites any of Queen Anne's jewels which had descended to him. Of Queen Charlotte at the coronation of the King and herself we read hardly anything. Though Horace Walpole was present, he hardly mentions the Queen. It was observed, however, that as the King put off his crown when he received the sacrament, the Queen should have done the same, but that her crown was pinned to her head-dress. The ceremony, so far as the Queen was con-

Queen Charlotte.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
QUEEN ANNE.
(National Portrait Gallery.)

cerned, was thus described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of that year (1761): "The coronation of His Majesty being finished, the Queen removed from her seat to the south side of the area, to a chair placed before the altar, and was anointed (four ladies holding a pall

PROCESSION FROM WESTMINSTER HALL TO THE ABBEY AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV. (From a Drawing by Charles Wild, at the Victoria and Albert Museum.)



CORONATION BANQUET OF GEORGE IV. IN WESTMINSTER HALL: SERVING THE FIRST COURSE. (FROM THE DRAWING BY CHARLES WILD, AT THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.)

over her Majesty) and afterwards invested with the ring and crowned by the archbishop, upon which the peeresses put on their coronets. The archbishop then delivered the sceptre into her right hand and the ivory rod into her left hand. Their Majesties then made their second oblation and received the communion, and the final prayers being read they retired into St. Andrew's Chapel, where they were invested with the royal robes and crowns of state."

QUEEN CAROLINE REFUSED ADMITTANCE TO WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

No queen was crowned with George IV. The unfortunate attempts of Queen Caroline to enter the Abbey, the failure several times repeated, the apprehensions felt by many lest the service should be interrupted, her proposal that a subsequent service should be held for her, and finally her retirement, disappointed and broken-hearted, to die in the house she rented at Hammersmith, formed the one subject of conversation, and was long remembered in after days while some of us were young.

Caroline of Brunswick.

Of the coronation of Queen Adelaide with William IV. there is little to be recorded, except that the Queen was desirous that the State should be put to as little expense on her account as possible. The crown she wore was of silver, set with her own jewels; and when the ceremony was over the stones were returned to her, and the crown, which remained for the time being in the goldsmith's hands, was eventually sold to a collector of such things and was lately exhibited at the New Gallery in the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney, who is also the possessor of the framework of the crowns of Charles II. and George IV. The good Queen was the eldest daughter of the Duke of Saxe Meiningen, and had two daughters, the Princesses Charlotte and Elizabeth, neither of whom survived infancy. The only child of King William's next brother, Edward, Duke of Kent, became heir to the throne.

Alexandrina Victoria, called after her godfather, the Emperor Alexander, and her mother, Victoria, Duchess of Kent, was born at Kensington Palace, on May 24th, 1819, and christened in the so-called Cube Room on the 24th June

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by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Charles Manners Sutton) and the Bishop of London (William Howley). At the age of eighteen the Princess Victoria of Kent became Queen, June 18th, 1837, and was crowned in Westminster Abbey on the 28th June, 1838. Very few survivors of the vast assembly which filled the old church and all the adjacent streets that day are now among us. On the 22nd January, 1901, at Osborne, in the Isle of Wight, the life of our great and glorious Sovereign came to an end.

Queen Victoria.

or George III., and when she died left her realms better, richer, and more prosperous for her wise and beneficent rule.

We are indebted to a lady connected by ties of family or friendship with many of those who immediately surrounded the young Queen for permission to use the following letter, written by her at a very early age to a relative just after the coronation. The simple narrative, told in almost childish language by an intelligent girl but just entering

Her Coronation Described by an Eye-witness.

TICKET OF ADMISSION TO THE CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

(In the possession of Major C. Field.)

This is not the place, nor has the time come, for a dispassionate estimate of the series of events then terminated. The universal grief of her subjects was seen when, on the 5th of February, the funeral procession passed through London. Here we may endeavour to recall the feelings of those who witnessed the beginning of her reign—their hopes, which were not disappointed; their fears, founded on recent sad events; their doubts, which were gradually and happily dissipated. The young girl who on that June morning was "hallowed to Queen," accepted the duties of her great charge in such a spirit of love for her people and of determination to fulfil to the utmost the task she had undertaken, as, given strength and long life, could not fail of success. She reigned longer by many years than Henry III.

her teens, will commend itself to every reader, and has never been printed till now. We have added in square brackets the full names of the chief actors in the solemn drama:—

"I got up at a quarter before six and breakfasted while mamma dressed. The morning was rather dull and cloudy. Our tickets were for the choir: Aunt Sutherland [Harriet Elizabeth Georgiana, Duchess of Sutherland, Mistress of the Robes] gave them to us. Frederick Leveson [the Hon. Edward Frederick Leveson Gower] was to go with us to the Abbey, as our tickets were for the same part. Papa was to go with the House of Commons.

"We set off at half-past seven and went up Grosvenor Place along Piccadilly (where we saw the sort of gallery before Devonshire House to see the procession from), and into

THE BANQUET AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.: SERVING THE FIRST COURSE, AS SEEN FROM THE ROYAL DAÏS. (FROM THE DRAWING BY CHARLES WILD, AT THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.)

the Regent's Circus, where we got into a great confusion of carriages where all the strings met, and there we wasted some time. The morning was then very fine and the streets looking very gay with flags, lamps for the illuminations, and the quantities of people at the windows and on the balconies of all the houses. After having wasted some time we got into the right string of carriages which were going to the north door, and then we got on much faster. We passed many peers' carriages. We were very much afraid we should not be in time, as the Abbey doors were to be shut at nine, and the barriers on the road of the procession sooner; it was then past 8.½, and the string was very long. We passed Charing Cross, the streets looking beautiful from the crowds of people, mamma calling to the police to ask how long we had to wait. We passed the Duke of Buckingham's garden, where we saw grandpapa and grandmamma Harewood [Henry, second Earl of Harewood] waiting for the procession, and Dover House, where we saw Miss Smith (who had just come from the country) and her brother, on the leads.

"At last we got to the Abbey, at half-past nine. We were very much afraid that the doors would be shut. We went in and walked up a long open kind of passage, and, after walking up a great many narrow wooden stairs, we saw a man standing at the entrance of the Lower Choir Gallery, who told us that there was no room for us, as more tickets had been given than there was room for people, but that perhaps we might get into the north transept, which was not near so good a place, as we could not see the altar. So we went there. We were obliged to go quite to the top, as it was so full; but afterwards we went lower down, near Miss P. Ponsonby; Frederick stayed higher up. We got tolerable places, but the people before me rather prevented my seeing. I had rather have been in the south transept, as that was over the peers, and the peeresses were opposite; I should have liked better to have seen them. We were over the peeresses; they were in rows, the Duchesses first, the Marchionesses, the Countesses, and so on, with the peers. I was very sorry that we did not go up the nave, which Mary said was very fine. Miss Hastings was there.

In the Abbey.

"The throne was in the middle, so we saw that very well; the altar was higher up, and St. Edward's chair was between them, near the pulpit. The altar was quite out of our sight, and we hardly saw the chair. The throne was covered with gold, and so were the steps leading to it. We saw a great many peers go to their seats, opposite. Mary [Lady Mary Howard, afterwards Lady Taunton], Charles, and Aunt Liz [Lady Elizabeth Grey] were to go with papa; they were to be in the south transept. We were afraid that they would get bad places, as they went so late. We saw also the Lady Herberts, who were to have been in the choir, and we were afraid that we had made them too late, as we told them the day before that we were not going till half-past nine. The ambassadors began to come in about a quarter past ten, and went to their seats on the side near the peeresses. We saw them tolerably.

"It was half-past eleven or near twelve when we heard the cannons, and we knew that the Queen was arrived at the Abbey. Soon after the Archbishops and the Duchess of Cambridge came in. The Duchess's train was of purple velvet, she had a gold circlet on her head, and was followed by Lady Caroline Campbell. Next the Duchess of Kent (they all passed on the side of the throne next the peers), dressed like the Duchess of Cambridge, uncle Morpeth [afterwards Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland] bearing her coronet, and the Duchess of Gloucester. Then the regalia, uncle Devonshire [William, seventh Duke] bearing Curtana, the Sword of Mercy, his coronet carried by Henry, his page [second Lord Dover, and third Viscount Clifden], and uncle Sutherland [George Granville, second Duke] carrying the second sword, followed by Stafford [George, afterwards third Duke], who looked very well in his page's dress. Then the royal dukes and the bishops, and last the Queen, in her robes of crimson velvet, with ermine, and the orders, with a gold circlet on her head, followed by her train-bearers, who were all in white, the Lord Chamberlain, and Aunt Sutherland, who looked very well. The Queen was rather pale. The ladies of the bedchamber came next, the maids of honour, and the women of the bedchamber, followed by the Master of the Horse, the

The Queen's Arrival.

Captain of the Guards, the Gentlemen at Arms, etc. etc.

"The Queen passed on the south side of the throne to the recognition chair, where she knelt down, the bearers of the regalia standing near her while an anthem was sung. After it was finished, the Recognition was first to be done. The Archbishop of Canterbury and some others came forward, saying, 'Sirs, I here present you Queen Victoria, the undoubted Queen of this realm; wherefore, all you who are come this day to do your homage, are you willing to do the same?'

The Recognition.

"The Queen then stood up and went to each corner of the theatre as the Archbishop spoke. She looked very well. The people all cried out, 'God save Queen Victoria!' and the drums began to beat. The Westminster boys screamed out, 'Vivat Victoria Regina.' The Queen sat down, and soon after, preceded by the Bishops, passed on to the altar, where she made her first offering, which we did not see. After some time she returned to the Chair of State, the bearers of the regalia always standing near her with their pages behind them. The Litany was then read, and the Communion Service; several anthems were sung, after which the sermon was preached by the Bishop of London. We did not hear it, as the pulpit was facing the peers, but it was said to be very good.

"The Queen now went to the altar to take the coronation oath and then returned to her chair, while a hymn was sung by the choir, after which the anointing took place at the altar, when, her crimson robe having first been taken off, a pall or cloth of gold was held over her head, and she was anointed on the head and hands in the form of a cross, after which she returned to St. Edward's chair, where the spurs were presented by the Lord Chamberlain; and after several prayers, the sword by the bishops. The Queen, returning to the altar, offered the sword to the Archbishop, and then (standing) was invested with the imperial, or Dalmatic, cloth of gold; the orb was presented to her, which she returned to the Dean, and the ring was put on her third finger (it ought to have been on the fourth finger), the sceptres were delivered to her by the Duke of Norfolk and the Archbishop.

Taking the Oath.

"The Archbishop, standing before the altar, took St. Edward's crown from the altar, and after having said several prayers, proceeded to put it on the Queen's head, assisted by the other Bishops. Then all the people shouted, 'God save the Queen!' the cannons were fired, the trumpets sounded, and drums beat.

The Crowning.

"Everybody then stood up, the peers and peeresses put on their coronets (which made them look much better). It was a fine moment. When the acclamation ceased the Archbishop pronounced an exhortation, and the choir sang an anthem. After which the Bible was presented to the Queen, the Benediction was pronounced by the Archbishop, and the Te Deum was sung, during which the Queen removed to the Recognition chair, surrounded by the bearers of the regalia and her attendants.

"When the Te Deum was ended the Queen ascended the theatre and sat upon her throne, all the officers of State standing round her, the Archbishop standing before her and pronouncing an exhortation.

"The Archbishop was the first to kneel before the Queen (who looked very well), pronouncing the words of homage, which all the others repeated after him. Then came the royal Dukes, who, taking off their coronets, touched the crown and kissed the left cheek of the Queen (who stood up to meet them), and then retired. The Dukes came next and did the same in their turn. One of the peers (Lord Rolle) slipped down the steps of the throne; the Queen got up and held out her hand to him. She was very much cheered. I saw her very well then, and so I did aunt Sutherland, who looked very well indeed. She had a long red velvet train, and her coronet was very small and at the back of her head, which was much the prettiest way of wearing it. During the homage there was the scramble for the coronation medals.

The Homage.

"After the homage the Queen went to the altar and received the sacrament, after which she made her second offering and passed into Saint Edward's Chapel, where she was disrobed of her imperial mantle and arrayed in her royal robe of purple velvet by the Lord Chamberlain, after which she passed through the nave wearing her crown and bearing

Assuming the Royal Robe.

HOMAGE OF THE PEERS AT THE CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA (From the Picture by Sir W. J. Newton by Permission of Mrs. Newton.)

the sceptre and the orb, the four swords borne before her all in the same order as before. But the procession did not leave the Abbey for some time. It was about half-past five.

"As soon as we could we went out of the transept and walked about the Abbey. We saw a great many peeresses. I went to see the altar, but all the things had been taken away. A great many people (after the Queen's departure) ran to dip their handkerchiefs in the oil she had been anointed with. We walked about for a long time. We saw Lady Georgiana Campbell, who looked very pretty, and Mrs. Drummond. We did not expect the carriage to come for an immense time.

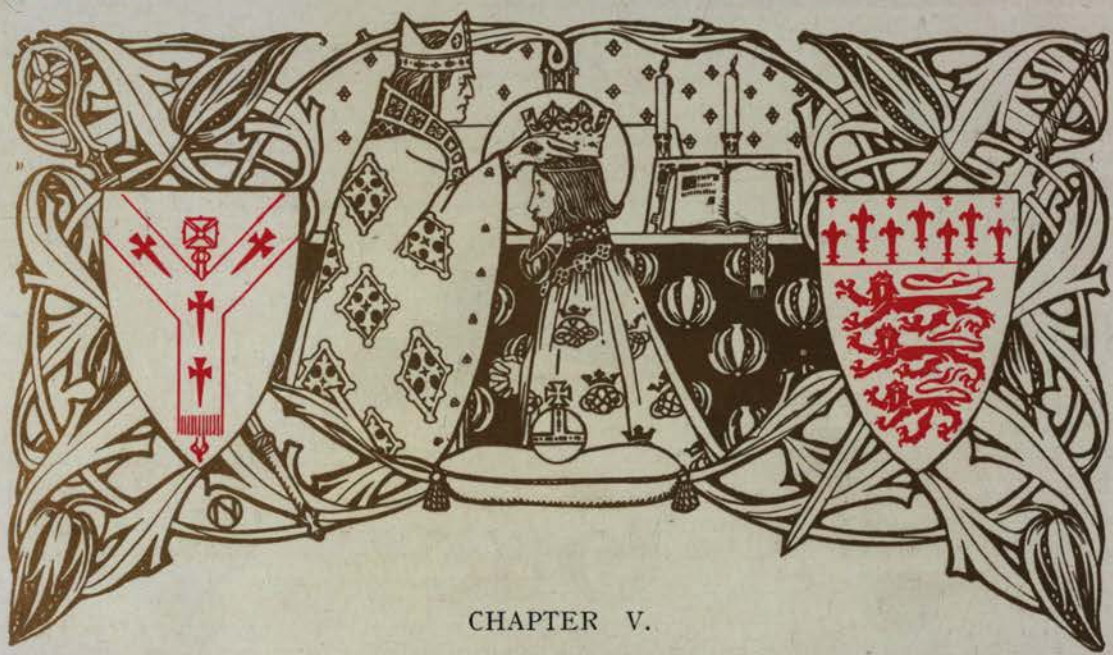
"Papa came in to see us. He had seen the return of the procession from Dover House, and dined with aunt Dover [Georgiana, daughter of the Earl of Carlisle and widow of George, Baron Dover]. He had had a very good place, and seen it all very well. After some time we went down into a long open passage, and papa and Freddy went to look for the carriages. We were very hungry, for we had had nothing to eat besides some chocolate and biscuits, which I had taken in my bag, and a little wine and water. When papa came back, he told us that the string was very long and no chance of our carriage coming till quite the evening, so he resolved to walk through the crowd to Dover House. Mamma went with papa and I with Freddy. I took off my necklace for him to keep, and we set off, going between the carriages and horses very quick, and at last got in safety to Dover House.

"When we got there we saw aunt Dover setting off to Stafford House walking. We called her, and she came back to us. Papa then went away, he said, to take the children (who had seen the procession from Grosvenor Place) to Stafford House in the evening to see the fireworks in the Green Park. We then went to dinner. After we had rested we went to Stafford House in aunt Dover's carriage, with all the children, and saw the illuminations on our way. We found aunt Sutherland at dinner, and Mary and Henry with her. Henry looked very nice in his page's dress. The Levesons soon came down. They had very good places in the Abbey, and so had Mary. Henry saw all most beautifully. We talked for some time and afterwards walked in the garden. Stafford House was illuminated on each side with a large crown and V.R. with lamps round the columns. Dover House had rows of small lamps round the top. We soon went upstairs and had some fruit, after which we looked out of the window at the fireworks. They were very fine. Aunt Dover took us home. The carriage was very full, her coachman insisting that it was breaking down. We arrived at home at half-past twelve, Netty [Henrietta, Lady Chesham] and Claude in uncle Morpeth's carriage."

QUEEN VICTORIA RECEIVING THE SACRAMENT AT HER CORONATION.

(From the Picture by C. R. Leslie, R.A., in the Royal Collection.)

The Ancient Service



CHAPTER V.

THE ANCIENT SERVICE.

Antiquity of the Ritual—Ecgberht, Archbishop of York—The Conversion of Northumbria—A Famous Simile—The English Service Copied on the Continent—Crowning and Anointing—The Anointing Oil—The Historic Form of Service—Presentation of the Bible—Variations in the Oath—Crowning a King who could not Speak English—Order of the Knights of the Bath—A Coronation Table-cloth—The Technical Terms Explained—Form of the Present Service.

OF the great antiquity of the Coronation Service something has already been said. Commencing in the time when England was divided into many kingdoms, we can trace it to a Prayer Book known to scholars as the Pontifical of Ecgberht, who was Archbishop of York in A.D. 736. That, to say the least, is a long time ago, and we do not know from actual records that Ecgberht ever had occasion himself to use the words at the hallowing of a king. But if we look into the English Chronicle we find him named under the year 734, when Tatwine, Archbishop of York, died, and so did the "Venerable" Beda. Then, the chronicler adds, "Ecgberht was hallowed bishop"—or, as we should say, received episcopal orders—and next we read, under the year 735, that he received the pall at Rome, that is to say, he was recognised as Archbishop. A little further on, under the year 737, we read of an event which must have concerned him. King Ceolwulf of Northumbria became a monk, but first he designated Eadberht, his cousin, to succeed to the kingdom. This Eadberht was the brother of Ecgberht, and both were the sons of Eata, the uncle of Ceolwulf, the royal monk. The chronicle adds briefly, "they both rest at York, in one porch."

Antiquity of the Service.

It is evident, then, that if Ecgberht really did compile this service—which there is no reason to doubt—he compiled it for the hallowing of his brother Eadberht, King of Northumbria. For the rest, we learn that the King, like his predecessor, became a monk. This was in 757, so Ecgberht may have consecrated the next king, his nephew Oswulf, the son of Eadberht; but Oswulf, we read, was slain by his household, after reigning but a single year. Old Ceolwulf survived till 760, and meanwhile Moll Ethelwald succeeded to the kingdom. After six winters, as the chronicler puts it, Moll was succeeded by Alchred; and it was not till 766, two years before the death of his brother Eadberht, that Archbishop Ecgberht was laid in the porch grave at York. So that he had in his long episcopate of at least thirty-two years occasion,

other things being equal, to crown no fewer than four Kings of Northumbria.

Of the conversion of Northumbria, an anecdote, told by Beda, the same who died the year Ecgberht was made a bishop, should be related here. The Northumbrian kingdom embraced Christianity before any other of the so-called Heptarchy. Edwin, the King, afterwards Brytwalda, summoned his high priest Coifi and his wise men to debate before him, and to hear Paulinus, the companion of Augustine. The heathen priest having spoken, an alderman asked what was the origin of man and whither did he go.

"Often, O King," said Edwin's alderman. "the present life of man seems to me, in comparison with that life which is unknown to us, like to the swift flight of a bird through the room wherein you sit at supper in the winter with your captains and your aldermen, and a good fire in the midst, while the storm and the rain and the snow rage without. The sparrow flies in at one door and out at the other; and while he is within he has fair weather at the hearth—then he vanishes into the dark winter. So for a moment seems the life of man—it is in our sight, whence it came, whither it goes we know not. If this new teaching can tell us, let us follow it." Coifi, having heard Paulinus preach, abandoned the old gods, and, hurling his spear into the temple to profane the altar, he and all Northumbria embraced Christianity. These things came to pass at Godmundingham—"the home protected by the gods"—now Goodmanham, in the East Riding, near York.

A Famous Simile.

In his work on Coronation Records,* Mr. Legg has preferred to print a somewhat later order of the Coronation Service than that of Ecgberht. It is true that no contemporary copy of Ecgberht's Pontifical is now known to exist, the oldest being in a manuscript at Paris, which only professes to be a copy. Mr. Legg has chosen a text he finds at Rouen, in the Municipal Library, which he ascribes to the ninth century. It was apparently written in the North of England, and the manner of spelling English names, together with the mention of St. Cuthbert and Archbishop Ecgberht, gives considerable support to the theory that it was written in England, and probably in Northumbria. Ecgberht's example was followed in the case of later Northumbrian kings, but the most distinct reference to the use of the appointed ritual in the Chronicle is not until more than thirty years after the Archbishop's death. In 795 Eardwulf succeeded to the throne, and was "blessed for King by Archbishop Eanwald," the second successor of Ecgberht, being afterwards "lifted upon his King's stool," as the Chronicle has it.

Of Egbert, the King of Wessex, who was grandfather of Alfred the Great, and ancestor of so many Kings of England, we do not anywhere read that the Northumbrian service of hallowing was followed. Nevertheless, all the Pontificals written before the Norman Conquest which contain it follow very closely the ceremonial prescribed by Archbishop Ecgberht of York, before the middle of the eighth century. The first coronation after the Norman Conquest of which we have the whole service is that of Richard I. In it the old forms were followed; and it is curious to observe that they also prevailed on the Continent, and are found in Pontificals written for use in France and Italy. In some of them "the blessing of St. Gregory, the apostle of the English," is invoked, and other signs of English origin are apparent; but Mr. Legg has found that "in the coronation of the King of Italy the name of St. Ambrose is substituted very naturally for that of St. Gregory." Selden and other comparatively early writers have noticed the English origin of the Coronation Service adopted in foreign countries.

The English Service Copied on the Continent.

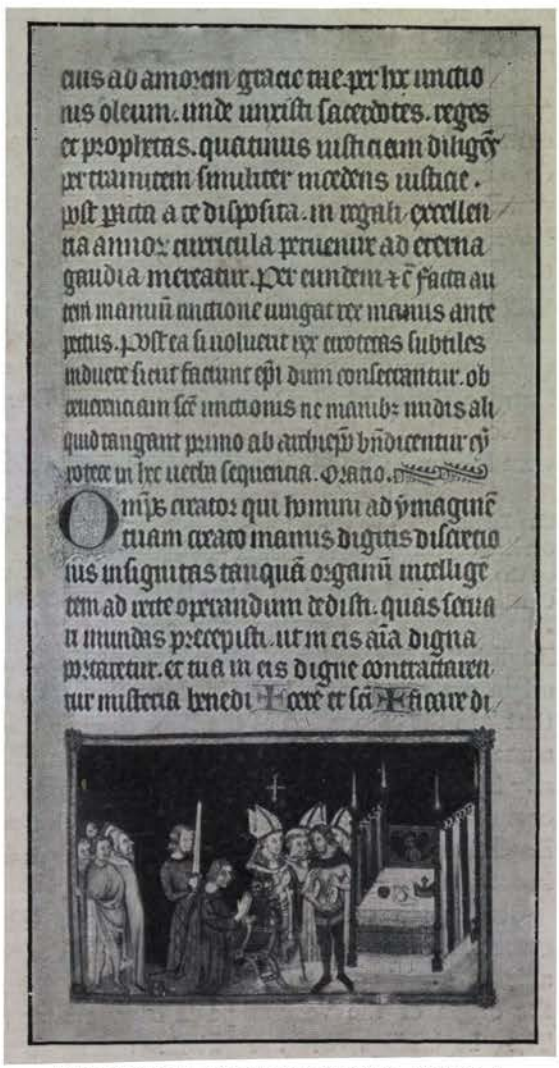
Coming to the service as it stood at the coronation of Queen Victoria, it will be desirable to explain the meaning, and, if possible, the origin of the various parts of the ritual. The beginnings of the whole among the Northumbrians have been detailed, and in an earlier chapter we have mentioned such events as the consecration of Aidan by St. Columba. But the late Bishop Stubbs, of Oxford, in his "Constitutional History," has made it easy to follow the old customs at the hallowing of kings; and we cannot have a safer guide.

He begins with the crown and the unction. "The royal consecration in its most perfect form included both." The solemn rite of crowning was borrowed from the Old Testament by

* "English Coronation Records." By Leopold G. Wickham Legg, B.A. Constable & Co

the Byzantine Cæsars. Theodosius II. (A.D. 401-450) seems to have been the first emperor crowned with a religious ceremony. The anointing was adopted very little later; and in ancient Britain the kings were anointed, according to Gildas. Whether the custom was borrowed from the Britons or taken direct from the Old Testament does not plainly appear, but both the crown and the oil are named in Ecgberht's Pontifical, described above.

Crown and Unction.



PAGE FROM THE CORONATION BOOK OF CHARLES V. OF FRANCE.
(From a MS. in the British Museum.)

It is important to note that in the canons drawn up at the Council of 787 the phrase "the Lord's anointed" is used of the King, and in the same document is mentioned "the ordination of a king, lawfully elected by the priests and elders of the people." Bishop Stubbs thought that the undertaking of the King to govern righteously "is not improbably a ceremony of much earlier date than either of the symbolical rites." In Ecgberht's Pontifical the declaration is made in the form of a precept, but it became an oath at a very early period. Ecgberht—whose name it is convenient to spell in its ancient form, lest there should be any confusion with that of King Egbert—may have put into writing a service already in use. If it were not for the passages relating to England, as mentioned above, which crept into the German, French, and Italian forms, one might fancy that all were derived from an unknown source. As it is, the oldest source now known is that of Northumbria.

As to the anointing of the later Saxon kings, many writers have thought that during the visit of Alfred, the youngest son of Ethelwolf, the son of Egbert, to Rome in 754, he was anointed by the Pope, Leo IV., and that this was done at the request of his father. The boy was but five years old at the time. But the anointing was only the chrism in confirmation according to others, and was afterwards mistaken for a royal unction. Certainly, Alfred succeeded to the exclusion of his elder brother's children, but the exigencies of the time, while the Danes ravaged the country, are sufficient to account for the choice of the Wise Men, the Witan, while the Pope's unction was accepted as an additional reason for their choice at a time when men's minds were as much influenced by superstition as by reason.

In the fourteenth century an attempt was made to add an extra sanctity to the anointing oil. Robert Grosteste, the great Bishop of Lincoln, in a letter printed by Mr. Legg, gave it as his opinion that the anointing "is the sign of the privilege," which is not enjoyed by all kings, but that it has a sacramental character, and that kings who are anointed are of higher dignity than those by whom the unction has not been received. But another letter by no means so moderate in tone or so judicious as that of Bishop Robert was written by the Pope, John XXII., to Edward II., and this letter, dating from 1318, is also printed by Mr. Legg. In it the holy oil is that which was given by "the most Blessed Virgin" to the glorious martyr, Thomas—that is, Becket, the Archbishop—when he was in exile in France. The whole

HENRY WILLIAM PAGET MARQUESS OF ANGLESEY (LORD HIGH STEWARD) CARRYING THE CROWN OF ST. EDWARD.

THE RIGHT HON. SIR BENJAMIN BLOOMFIELD, KEEPER OF THE PRIVY PURSE.

(FROM THE DRAWINGS BY STEPHANOFF, AT THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM, REPRESENTING THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.)

legend, as embodied in the letter, bristles with miracles and with historical improbabilities and even impossibilities, but it was eagerly adopted by the not very critical antiquaries of the time of Henry IV., and, like another legend already mentioned, connecting the Iron Crown of Lombardy with the Invention of the Cross, was made the utmost use of by the Papal Court, notwithstanding the complete failure of the prophecy "that the fifth king after Henry II. would conquer the world."

Bishop Stubbs gives particulars of the oath as taken by Ethelred the Unready at the bidding of Archbishop Dunstan. He compares it with that in the Pontifical of Ecgberht, and points out that it is almost in the same form. What it is now we shall see later on in the present chapter. Meanwhile we may summarise the contents of one of the manuscripts which contain the ritual of the coronation in its complete form. It is printed by Mr. Legg from a manuscript in the Cotton Collection at the British Museum, and we must refer to his pages for the full text and translation.

The translation made by Mr. Legg is literal. "Here beginneth the consecration of a king:—

"Two bishops shall bring the King that is to be consecrated from the assembly of faithful elders to the church, and the choir shall sing this anthem: 'Let thy hand be strengthened,' etc."

The anthem occurs in the coronation service for Charles I., but not in the same place. At the coronation of Queen Victoria it was not used.

"When the King is come to the church, he shall lie prostrate on the floor before the altar. Now the floor must be spread with carpets and cloths. When the anthem is finished, a Litany shall be said. And the bishops shall lie prostrate on the floor on both sides of the King elect. At the end of the Litany they shall arise. And the King elect, when raised by the bishops, shall promise to observe these three things." (Here follow the promises to govern righteously.) "After this one of the bishops shall address the people and ask them whether they be willing to submit themselves to this man as their prince and ruler, and obey his commands. Then shall the clergy and people standing about reply: 'We will and grant it so.' And then shall the prayers following be said by the Metropolitan and the King humbly kneeling." (Three prayers and the anointing follow.

"Then shall the Metropolitan anoint his hands with Holy Oil, saying a prayer which begins, 'Let these hands be anointed,' etc. Then shall the Metropolitan anoint the King's head, breast, shoulders, and both elbows, saying, 'Let this head,' etc.

Meanwhile the choir sings an anthem. When the anointing is completed two prayers are repeated.

"Then shall he receive the sword from the bishops and learn that with the sword the whole kingdom has been entrusted to him to govern faithfully according to his word given above, and the Metropolitan shall say, 'Receive this sword,' etc. When he has been girded with the sword he shall receive the armils in the same

COVER OF KING ATHELSTAN'S BOOK.
(British Museum.)

manner; then the mantle, then the crown is blessed; then it is put on his head; then a prayer follows, and the ring is delivered, then the sceptre, the rod, an appropriate sentence accompanying each presentation. A blessing follows.

"When the King is crowned, he shall kiss the bishops, who shall lead him with all honour to the royal throne; and the choir sings the Te Deum. After this the Metropolitan pronounces an exhortation, 'Stand and hold fast from henceforth that place whereof hitherto thou hast been heir,' and so on, with a doxology at the end."

This is a brief account of the service which seems to have been used at the coronation of Richard I. In all its main features this was the ancient service, and it is still that which has been used in English since James I. ascended the throne.

The most serious addition to the hallowing part of the ritual is the presentation of the Bible, already touched upon in an earlier chapter. It was prescribed in the Act of Parliament which regulated the coronation of William and Mary, the first time the common law order, as it may be termed, of the service was fixed by statute. Before that an old manuscript copy of the Gospels was presented to the King on which to take the oath. The volume was known as "King Athelstan's Book." It is a very ancient manuscript containing the gospel of St. John and parts of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke. It was formerly kept in the Exchequer, in special charge of the King's Remembrancer. During the Great Rebellion it was lost, like so many other precious things; but, unlike the Regalia, it was not destroyed. In 1883 it formed part of the great Ashburnham Collection, and it is now in the British Museum.

Presentation of the Bible.

As to the Bible now presented, it may be worth while to note that it contains both the ordinary books and also the Apocrypha, some chapters of which are read among the Lessons in the Daily Service of the Established Church. For this reason the King could not accept for the coronation a Bible prepared by the Bible Society, as it does not contain those books.

The Oath itself has been subject to many variations. Under all the Stuarts before Mary II., the old wording was followed. Even James II. swore to confirm to the people of England the laws and customs "granted by his predecessors, including the true profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom." But, strict as this wording seems at first sight, it did not long bind a King determined on evading it, and the Act 1 William and Mary, in its preamble, states that, forasmuch as the oath had been framed "in doubtful words and expressions," the new form was to be as precise as possible, and the King and Queen were to promise to maintain "the true profession of the Gospel and the Protestant Reformed Religion, established by law." This same form was used at the coronation of Queen Victoria, and the oath is that taken by King Edward. As to its practical evasion at the time of

Variations in the Oath.

the disestablishment of the Irish Church, this is not the place for any remark, except that after the Act was passed that Church ceased to be "established by law," and is not now mentioned. The oath itself is written on vellum and attached to a State document called the Coronation Roll, which is deposited among the Records of the Court of Chancery. It is said that, by some oversight, the oath was not ready for the signature of George IV., and that the King wrote his name instead on the page of the prayer book of the Archbishop. The book is in the Lambeth Library.

The service at the coronation of Queen Anne was the same as at that of her sister and brother-in-law. Though the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tenison) placed the crown on her head and the Archbishop of York (Sharp) preached the sermon, the absence of Bishop Ken, whom the Queen would gladly have seen by her, was remarked upon. He should, as Bishop of Bath and Wells, have supported her left arm; but his non-juring scruples kept him in retirement.

It would be only tedious to go through all the minute points which differentiated the coronation ritual of Queen Victoria from that of Richard I. Among those things which have varied has been the inclusion of the Communion Service. The Queen of James I., as we have seen, refused it. The whole office was omitted at the coronation of Charles II., whose mother, Henrietta Maria, was never crowned rather than take part in it. In the same spirit, the Communion was omitted at the coronation of James II. The full service, including the Litany and the Communion, was performed when King William and Queen Mary were hallowed with equal rites. The Act of Parliament, as we have shown, prescribed the presentation of the Bible, and nothing was shortened or neglected which could add solemnity and reality to the scene, though to modern ideas the applause which followed Bishop Burnet's sermon would have seemed strangely incongruous.

ARCHBISHOP MANNERS SUTTON CARRYING THE CORONATION SERVICE-BOOK AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

(From the Drawing by Stephanoff in the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

A King who could not Speak English.

The first of the Hanoverian kings, long as he must have known that he was in all probability to succeed to the throne of Queen Anne, seems never to have been at the trouble of learning the language of his future subjects. He understood a little Latin, and, instead of conducting the service in English, it seems odd that no one suggested a return to the Latin in which it had been read for so many centuries. "As it was," says Stanley, "the ceremonies had to be explained by the Ministers,

who could not speak German, to the King, who could not speak English, in Latin, which they must both have spoken very imperfectly. Hence the saying that much 'bad language' passed between them." The absence of the Queen, who, though she almost outlived King George, passed her reign in prison, must have added to the depression and dulness of the ceremony, which was only enlivened in part by the institution or revival of the Order of the Knights of the Bath. We saw in previous chapters that former kings, such as Henry IV., had been surrounded by their friends before the great day, and how all had watched by their arms, had bathed, and had been knighted by the still uncrowned King. Mrs. Murray Smith, in her delightful volume on "Westminster Abbey," has described the renewal of the Order by George I.; and we are enabled to take from her pages the following passage, as well as the picture with which it is illustrated :—

SUPER-TUNICA.

Order of the Knights of the Bath.

BUSKIN AND SANDAL.

"During his reign, the royal chapel of Henry VII. became the temporary chapel of the Knights of the Bath, when Sir Robert Walpole reconstructed the Order in 1725, and the deans of Westminster were appointed perpetual deans to the Order. The Chapel had to be fitted up for the installation of the thirty-six knights; new stalls were added, the canopies for which were obtained by cutting the old ones in half. A copper plate, emblazoned with his arms, marked the stall of each knight, and over it hung his banner; upon his death the banner was placed beneath the altar while the Dead March in *Saul* was played. The installations here continued till 1812, to which date the present banners belong, and all sorts of curious ceremonials used to take place in connection with the knights. Thus on every anniversary of George I.'s coronation a procession of the knights used to march to the chapel, where a solemn service was held. After every installation the royal cook used to stand at one of the Abbey doors (first the west door, later on at the Poets' Corner entrance), holding a cleaver, with which he threatened to hew off the spurs from any knight who proved untrue to his knightly vows. Each knight made a low bow to the cook as he passed out of the church to the banquet in the Prince's Chamber at Westminster Palace, and for these formalities he paid a fee of four guineas to the royal official. A picture, painted by Canaletti for Dean Wilcocks in 1747, and now hanging in the Deanery dining-room, represents the procession of knights leaving the Abbey after an installation, all picturesquely clad in long red cloaks and wearing large white plumes."

COLOBIUM SINDONIS.

PALLIUM.
(From Sandford's "Coronation of James II.")

It is during the reign

of the same King, George I., and, in fact, very soon after his accession, that we first have evidence of the activity of the British linen trade—a manufacture whose importance has been proved at more than one crisis in our history. I need not further allude here to Ulster and its staple; but may pause to mention a curious example concerned with the coronation of George I. A table-cloth is still in existence which was one of many woven at Waringstown, in the County Down, in 1717, and which, worn and fragile as it has become through age, still shows a representation of the coronation procession of "George Augustus, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland," together with portraits of the Lord Mayor, the bishops, the bearers of the Regalia, and a map of London, with views of public buildings and suitable inscriptions. It belongs to the modern London representatives of the old firm for which it was wrought, Messrs. John Wilson & Co.

A Coronation Table-cloth.

PROCESSION OF KNIGHTS OF THE BATH ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF GEORGE THE FIRST'S CORONATION.

Here, in concluding this chapter, we may take the technical terms as they occur, and append a brief explanation of such of them as have not been explained in our chapter on the Regalia, referring the reader who wishes for further information to the work of Mr. Wickham Legg, the latest authority; or to the third volume of the "Monumenta Ritualia" of Maskell, an older writer, who deals with coronations as part of the scheme of an extensive work.

The Technical Terms.

The Oil.—Several prescriptions are in existence for making the oil to be used at the coronation. Olive oil mixed with balm and several other ingredients to the number of even forty are sometimes mentioned. The oil is prepared by or under the immediate superintendence of the Dean of Westminster. For the coronation of James II. it was compounded by the King's apothecary, James St. Arnaud, and was consecrated by the Dean at a special service in the morning of the day on which it was to be used. It is described by Sandford as "exceeding rich and fragrant." St. Arnaud had a fee of £200. After the anointing, which all writers describe as the most important part of the service, the anointed places are wiped by the Dean with cotton-wool, which is afterwards burnt.

The Coif is no longer used. It was a linen covering for the head after the anointing.

The Colobium Sindonis.—A linen vestment.

The Super-tunica.—A silk vestment.

The Sandals and *Buskins.*—Now disused.

The Stole and the *Bracelets.*—These have always been put on from very ancient times.

The Pallium.—The Imperial Robe, answering to an Episcopal cope or chasuble. It is powdered with gold eagles.

The *Orb*, the *Ring*, the *Sceptre*, and the *Crown* have been described already, as well as the *Sword*, the *Spurs*, and the *Ampulla*.

For the present ceremony a considerably shortened form was arranged. To say nothing of the fatigue inflicted on the two personages chiefly concerned by a four or five hours' service in a crowded and insufficiently ventilated church, the great age of some of the officiating prelates was taken into account. The First Oblation, which came early in the service at the coronation of Queen Victoria, was omitted altogether. That it was

Form of the Present Service.

a tedious and almost meaningless ceremony of considerable length may be judged from the rubric, which ran as follows:—

The Bible, Paten, and Cup being brought by the Bishops who had borne them, and placed upon the Altar, the Archbishop goeth to the Altar and puts on his Cape,

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE CARRYING THE ORB AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

and standeth on the North Side of it. And the Bishops who are to read the Litany do also vest themselves. And the Officers of the Wardrobe, etc., spread Carpets and Cushions on the Floor and Steps of the Altar.

Which being done, the Queen, supported by the two Bishops of Durham and Bath and Wells, and attended by the Dean of Westminster, the Great Officers and the Lords that carry the Regalia going before Her, goes down to the Altar, and kneeling upon the Steps of it makes her First Oblation, which is a Pall or Altar-Cloth of Gold delivered by an Officer of the Wardrobe to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and by Him, kneeling, to Her Majesty; and an Ingot or Wedge of Gold of a pound weight, which the Treasurer of the Household delivers to the Lord Great Chamberlain, and He to Her Majesty, kneeling; Who deliver them to the Archbishop, and the Archbishop standing (in which posture he is to receive all other Oblations) receives from Her, one after another, the Pall to be reverently laid upon the Altar, and the Gold to be received into the Bason, and with the like Reverence put upon the Altar.

Next, what is described as the pre-communion service preliminary to the sermon and the actual celebration, and consisting chiefly of the Commandments with their responses, was also left out. The Hallelujah Anthem, which preceded a long separate prayer, was passed over, and also the Litany. The Homage came after the Anointing and Crowning. It was submitted to the pruning knife, being limited to the personal act of the senior peer present of each degree, the senior duke, the senior marquis, earl, viscount, and baron—each in turn performing the act of homage for his fellows. How greatly this relieves the service may be judged by the rubric relating to it in the service at the coronation of Charles I.:—

The ArchBp. first with the rest of the Bishopps, kneele down and make their Homage, saying—

I N. N. shalbe faithfull and true, and faith and truth beare vnto you our Soveraigne Lord, and your heyers Kings of *England*. And I shall doe and truely acknowledge the service of the Landes wch I claime to hold of you, as in right of the Church; So helpe me *God*.

Then he kisseth the King's left Cheeke.

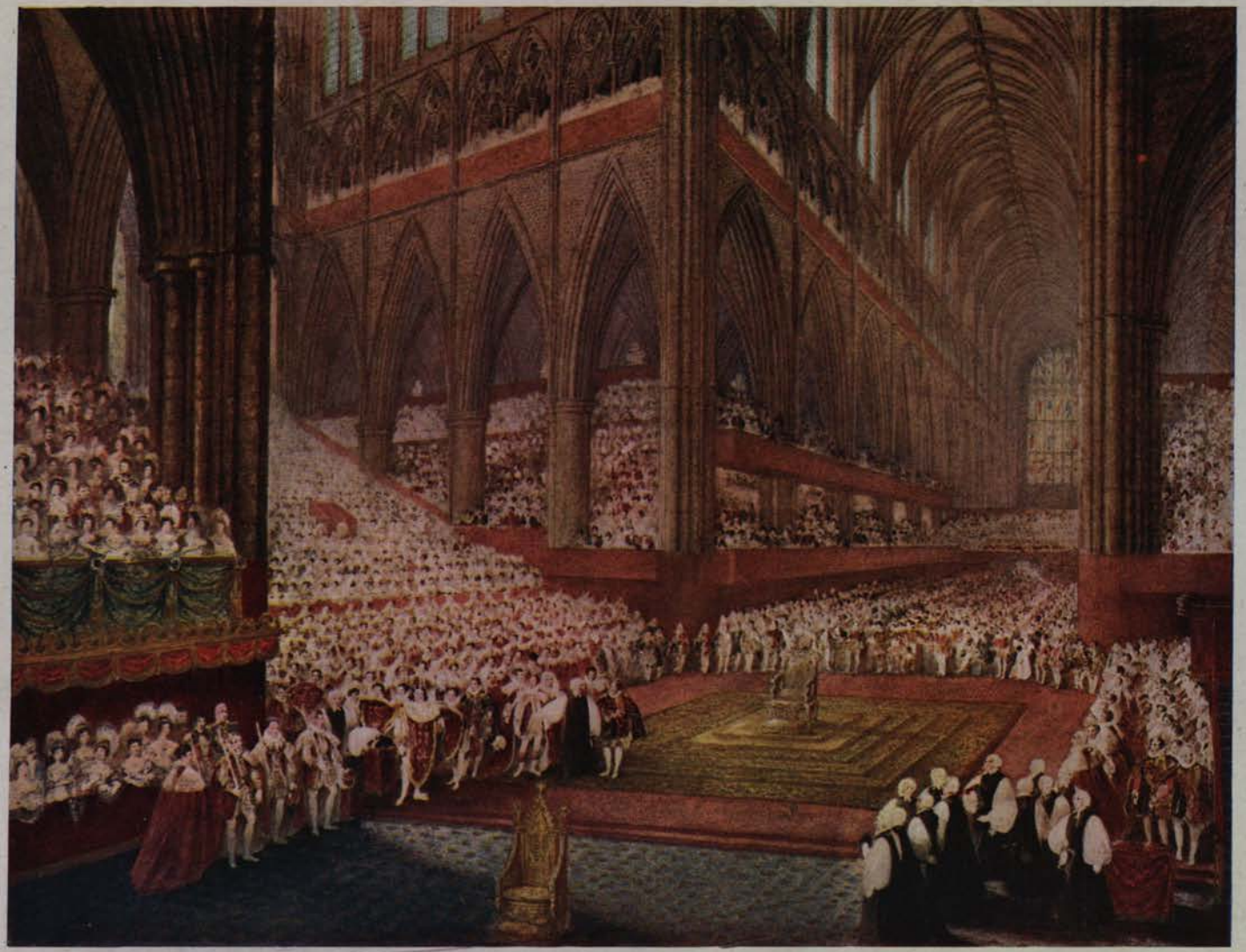
After this the Peeres of the Realme kneeling downe doe make their Homage saying—

I N. N. doe become your Leige man of life and Limme, and of earthly Worshipp; and Faith and Truth I shall beare vnto you, to liue and dye against all manner of folkes. So *God* mee helpe.

DUKE OF RUTLAND CARRYING THE SCEPTRE WITH THE DOVE AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

Which done, they togither stand round about the King, and streching forth their hands, doe touch the Crowne vpon his head; as promising by way of Ceremony, euer to be ready to support it with all their power.

In the chapter describing the actual service some other changes will be pointed out.



GEORGE IV. ADVANCING TO ST. EDWARD'S CHAIR IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY. (From the Drawing by Charles Wild, at the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CORONATION

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER VI.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE CORONATION.

Universal Rejoicing—The English Way—A Good Example—Raising the Money—The King's and Queen's Guests—How the Bounty of King and Queen was Supplemented—Decorations and Illuminations—The City of London and the City of Westminster—Bonfires—Fireworks—Exhibitions—The Office of Works—The Abbey, Without—The Abbey, Within—The Proclamation of Peace.

WHILE as yet it wanted more than two months of the approach of the great day, the signs of preparation were apparent in many directions. Not in Westminster Abbey alone, nor in London alone, but over the whole country, the sounds were heard of busy workmen, of schemes of decoration, of charitable feasts of which the King himself struck the key-note, of religious services, of public gifts, of illuminations, fireworks, and bonfires. Nor was this universal stir and bustle all; for an echo came from over the sea, where in the islands of the Channel, in the forts of the Mediterranean, by the shores of the great American lakes, from the continents of the southern ocean, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the distant lands which border on the Pacific, our brothers and sisters, the colonists of all the world who speak the English tongue, were as busy as we ourselves and to the same purpose.

The English Way of Doing Things.

Foreigners sometimes find fault with us because in times of public rejoicing we fail in obtaining uniformity of effect. They say we scatter our efforts, we show thousands of different sets of decorations, and have a hundred small arches where they would prefer one of greater proportions. But, instead of agreeing, those who know the feelings of Britons in these affairs can reply that only under the many-coloured flag of England is there the same liberty of individual choice; the want of uniformity shows that the display is spontaneous, and any shortcomings that may be noted in magnificence are more than compensated by the abundant evidence of heartiness. In the great cities of Europe it is the government offices, the public buildings, the barracks, and the palaces that are the most gorgeously adorned and the most brilliantly lighted in honour of public events. In England it is the houses of the middle classes, the streets of shops, the banks and factories, and, above all, the homes of the people. The uniformity is in our joy; we are unanimous in the feeling which finds for itself such diverse expression, whether by the pyrotechnic display of the millionaire or the candle of the cottager.

But on the present occasion there was to be observed a feature which was almost entirely absent from the festivities described in some of the foregoing chapters. We no longer take a pride in "subtleties," in allegorical designs which require long explanations, in conduits running wine, or barrels of ale in every village street. The example set by King Edward in giving a dinner to half-a-million

An Example that was Copied.

But the greatest undertaking of the kind was that by which Queen Alexandra entertained to tea that obscure but most industrious class the maids-of-all-work of London, into whose dreary lives her Majesty, through the medium of the excellent societies which make these poor girls their special care, was able thus to bring a ray of gladness.

The amount and elaboration of the organisation required for these festivities baffles

MAKING DECORATIONS FOR THE CORONATION.

(By permission of Messrs. Defries & Sons, Ltd., Houndsditch.)

of the humbler classes in London was followed throughout the country. Everywhere the poor, the lame, the blind, and the children who cannot help themselves were sought for the guests of the day. It would be almost invidious to mention or specify instances; but in some of the larger communities the preparations were on a colossal scale. Arrangements were made to treat ten thousand children in Jersey alone, and each of them was to receive a commemorative medal. In Paddington it was decided to supplement the King's bounty by a dinner to the local poor of a higher class and by a children's celebration which should entertain twenty thousand or more at a cost of £1,500 at least in voluntary contributions, of which the Mayor of the new borough gave £500. imagination. Although the Local Government Board decided that in the case of workhouses extra expenditure would be permitted, the dietary being improved for two days and an extra allowance of outdoor relief granted, in many instances no addition whatever had to be made to the rates, voluntary subscriptions being sufficient. At Sheffield, for example, where ten thousand people were to be feasted, it was not proposed to go to the local rates. At Oxford a voluntary subscription rendered unnecessary other help, and this was the case also at Cardiff, Belfast, and many other places, the most conspicuous of which was Liverpool, where, as in London, things have always to be done on a vast scale. There

Raising the Money.

arrangements were made for a special service at the church which does duty for a cathedral, a treat to the aged poor, refreshments for one hundred and thirty thousand school children, fireworks in the parks, processions of charitable institutions, a municipal banquet, and two garden parties, one for working men and their wives, and presentations of medals and book prizes to scholars. The town hall was to be illuminated for three nights, there was to be a Volunteer review, memorial trees were to be planted, and bags of food were to be given to five thousand children.

A subscription list probably suited best with the ideas of many wealthy manufacturing cities. In other towns, such as fashionable watering places, a small addition to the local rates was not objected to, and occasionally took the form of a temporary increase of the salary of the mayor or the chairman of the local council. But another kind of support was suggested by Mr. George Foster, who undertook, in Stepney, Bethnal Green, and Poplar, to give fifty thousand children an entertainment in Victoria Park. His scheme grew to much larger dimensions, and an entertainment was organised which was to employ on two successive days the voluntary and hearty efforts of many members of the theatrical profession, of actors, singers, acrobats, conjurers, and others, willing to give their services gratuitously to ensure a brilliant success. Of this kind of liberality there were numerous examples, not in London alone, but all over England, in Ireland, in Scotland, and in the British dominions beyond the sea.

As to the expenses of such entertainments, and how they were borne, the newspapers recorded a significant incident, which is only selected as typical of what took place elsewhere in the country. Two months before the Coronation a meeting was held, under the chairmanship of one of the London mayors, at which an assembly of music-hall managers and artists consulted—not how they might profit by the concourse of people who would be attracted to London, nor how to fill their halls and theatres. No, these gentlemen came together to organise concerted action and settle preliminary arrangements "for providing entertainments in the various hospitals in addition to those at the King's dinners." With such favour was this proposal received that the only difference of opinion that arose was between several members of the selected committee as to whether one should enjoy the privilege alone of bearing the expense, or whether others should be permitted to share it with him.

King Edward's bounty to his half a million guests included a special cup, designed and manufactured by Messrs. Doulton, and embellished with portraits of the King and Queen, which was given to each guest. The Queen's maids-of-all-work had each a brooch; and the royal gifts were largely supplemented by private offerings. Messrs. Wills undertook to present to every man a packet of tobacco or cigarettes; Messrs. Rowntree to present tins of chocolate; Messrs. Bass, through Lord Burton, to provide the beer required by those of the King's guests who wished for such refreshment. In most prisons the authorities decided to permit a relaxation of disciplinary severity and an improvement of the food for the great day.

In the City.

The City of London, as usual, determined that in a matter of this sort it could brook no rivalry. At the time of the Jubilee celebrations, the Corporation voted £10,000 for expenses incurred in decorating the City and other evidences of rejoicing, and on the present occasion a much larger sum was at once granted. But when a suitable, if more expensive, scheme was suggested, a further allowance was cheerfully made, and all were of one mind that the decorations and illuminations should surpass, both in cost and in success, anything done even by the City Corporation on former occasions. The King, on the other hand, desiring, no doubt, openly to show all possible favour to the citizens, graciously consented to visit the City not only on the royal progress the day after the Coronation, but also at a grand luncheon in the Guildhall on the 3rd of July. As we read of the short service arranged to be held on the latter occasion in St. Paul's, the memory of many of us went back to the national rejoicing at the recovery from dangerous illness of the Prince of Wales in February, 1872, when he accompanied Queen Victoria to attend a thanksgiving service in St. Paul's; but we do not forget, after the Prince's return from the Indian tour in 1876, how the City spent something more than

STUDENTS OF THE ROYAL SCHOOL OF ART NEEDLEWORK EMBROIDERING THE KING'S CORONATION ROBE.

£27,000 on decorations and rejoicings, including a banquet, made memorable to the poor of many surrounding parishes by the distribution in the Guildhall of the unused dishes.

In the City of Westminster.

The Westminster Corporation, again, in particular—and Westminster is the largest of the London boroughs,—and that within whose boundaries the principal events of the Coronation took place—did not fail to make the most of the great occasion. The decoration of the streets was placed in the hands of Messrs. Fantippie, a firm of Italian decorators. Undoubtedly the people of Italy, living in a country where a fine day is frequent, and may usually be calculated upon beforehand, are much more conversant than Londoners with the art of outdoor decoration. Even a local wedding or a saint's day is marked by a procession, and perhaps a masquerade such as is seldom seen under these cold skies. It was in Italy that Inigo Jones learned to make the scenery and arrange the parts for the court festivities of Queen Anne of Denmark.

But though the scheme of decoration for the city of Westminster was carried out by Messrs. Fantippie, the actual design was made by English artists. Eleven firms in all were, in the first instance, asked to submit designs and to tender. While considering their tenders the committee had placed before them a scheme of decoration drawn up by Mr. Frederic Vigers, whose designs were shown to Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, R.A., and so highly approved of by him that the committee determined to offer Mr. Vigers the position of artistic adviser for the whole of the decorations. Mr. Vigers' designs were also submitted to the Royal Institute of British Architects, and received their approbation. The committee subsequently invited tenders for carrying out Mr. Vigers' scheme, but of these two only were said to be in accordance with the specifications, that of Messrs. Pain and Son, and the much lower one—£5,990—of Messrs. Fantippie; furthermore, the estimate of the latter firm included illumination, which none of the other tenders did.

SOME OF THE KING'S CUPS READY FOR DESPATCH FROM BURSLEM.

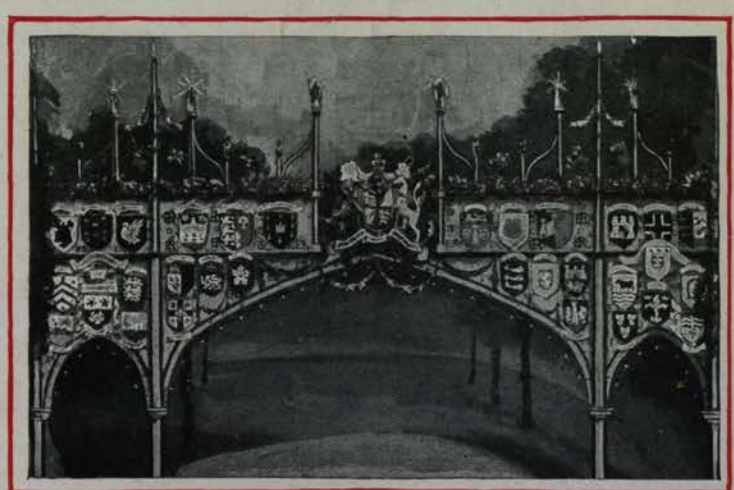
(From a photograph supplied by Messrs. Doulton & Co., Ltd.)

The importance of Westminster on an occasion such as this can hardly be overrated. All the Royal Palaces—St. James's, Whitehall, Kensington, Buckingham, and the Palace of Parliament; all the chief houses of the nobility—Stafford, Devonshire, Spencer, Bridgewater, Grosvenor, Salisbury, and Wimborne; and the institutions which have their homes in Burlington House, to say nothing of the great squares named after Belgrave, Hanover, St.

GENERAL LORD ROWLAND HILL CARRYING THE STANDARD OF ST. GEORGE. ATTENDED BY HIS PAGE.

(FROM THE DRAWING BY STEPHANOFF, AT THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.)

James, and Grosvenor; with the streets leading to them, like Park Lane, Bond Street, and Piccadilly, are in the old undivided parish. The example set by Westminster was, therefore, expected to offer a pattern, and, in fact, did so, by which the adjacent regions might be guided. As the local committee defined their boundaries, they reached from Temple Bar on the east to Kensington on the west, and from the river Thames on the south to Oxford Street on the north. They therefore called, confidently, and not in vain, on the people of the royal city to co-operate "in giving to many thousands of their fellow-citizens cause to remember with pleasure and affection a great historical event in the annals of the British Empire, and also a Royal welcome to their Majesties on their Coronation Day."



THE BRITISH ISLES TRIUMPHAL ARCH IN PARLIAMENT STREET.
(Designed by Mr. Frederick Vigers.)

At the time of the Thanksgiving Service in St. Paul's Cathedral in 1872 I remember observing a serious error in the illumination of the dome—an error into which I venture to think no Italian would have been betrayed. Two or three strings of lamps were used. It was before electric lighting was to be had for such purposes, and the lamps were small and dim. The effect, none the less, might have been excellent. Instead, it was a dismal failure. The great dome which should have been the central feature of a worthy display was hardly visible, and where it could be seen was almost an eyesore. The strings of lights were arranged horizontally across the dome, and when night fell the two or three in the middle of each row appeared much brighter than those on either side, which faded away following the curve. The whole costly and troublesome arrangement only showed itself like a very few dim stars, irregularly placed, of different degrees of magnitude. If the same or a smaller number of lamps had been suspended vertically from the central lantern, and made to follow the curve of the ribs, we should have seen from most points of view the glorious dome outlined in light which, however dim each lamp might have been, would still have dominated the night view of the City as the great cathedral dominates it by day. Remembering the failure, but probably unaware of the cause, at the Jubilee illuminations no attempt to illuminate the dome was made. And whether on this account or from any difficulty or danger, an electric light from the ball and cross has since been deemed sufficient.

Of all the various kinds of illumination, the bonfire has from time immemorial been the most popular. The King's approval of a large scheme for beacon fires on high hills all over England was very early invoked and received, and the papers for some time were full of particulars as to how to collect the money required, how to build the fire, of what materials, and how to light it. Many of the suggestions with which the daily papers teemed were of an amusing and futile character; and if the services of a few experts in lighthouse work or in signalling at sea could have been enlisted, it would have been seen how little the general public understand a very difficult art or rather science.

Bonfires.

Fireworks were, of course, to play a great part in the festivities, and arrangements were made for a magnificent display in Hyde Park. At the Royal borough of Windsor a splendid show was organised by a local committee, who entrusted Messrs. Pain with the necessary preparations. Bermondsey arranged to provide a show by lighting forty thousand lamps in Southwark Park; and similar preparations were made in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, Portsmouth, Plymouth with its linked towns, and Mount Edgcumbe, Newcastle, Gateshead, and scores of other places.

Among the hundreds of special exhibitions and shows one, at least, should have separate notice in the pages of this Coronation Book. This was a gathering in the great room of the King's Library at the British Museum of a large number of manuscripts, printed books, prints, drawings, and medals relating to coronations. Many of the manuscripts had fine illuminations, and the best of them have been noticed and in some cases copied in former chapters of this book. By the courtesy and kindness of the Principal Librarian, Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, K.C.B., and the other officials, we were permitted special facilities for examining and copying those which suited the purpose of our work, and we are glad to take this opportunity of offering our grateful acknowledgments.

The Office of Works, a Department of the Government, had its share, and a large one, in preparing for the festivities. It was remarked above that in celebrations like this in which we have been taking part, the *modus operandi*, so to speak, the way we go to work, is, in England, very different from that which obtains among other nations. They look to their governments to provide the principal shows, and the finest displays of daylight decorations and of illuminations at night are on the public buildings. In this country, on the other hand, such things are left to the people. The Government provides military displays, but only in great moderation, and there are bands and salvoes of artillery. The naval celebration is a thing apart, though even there the great steamers of the mail lines and the shipping companies are as conspicuous as the battleships and cruisers. But in the present festivities a display of fireworks was undertaken by Government, and, in addition, the Board of Works provided seats for some forty thousand persons, chiefly school boys and

The Office of Works.

girls. An enterprising writer calculated that there are 666 yards between Buckingham Palace and the Arch opposite Hyde Park Corner. Stands chiefly for school children, as at the two Jubilee celebrations in 1887 and 1897, were erected there fully six weeks before the day arrived, and were divided into twenty-four blocks, to which separate access could be obtained.

Some of the chief stands were, of course, no such view of the Abbey as we now enjoy could be obtained. Bridge Street consisted of a double row of small houses, continued to Storey's Gate by the equally crowded and dingy George Street, and crossed from Parliament Street to New Palace Yard, a confined space, by the line of houses, opposite the former Law Courts, which led to Old Palace Yard. The Abbey and St. Margaret's were closely hemmed in; the network of shabby lanes shut in the view even

ERECTING ONE OF THE GRAND STANDS AT WESTMINSTER.

in the neighbourhood of the Abbey. Several steep banks of seats were erected on either side of the route across the Horse Guards Parade, seating in all not fewer than three thousand people. A vast stand faced the Horse Guards where the new War Office is being built, and others were near the end of George Street, at the corner of Parliament Square. The great Canadian arch, covered with "golden grain," spanned the roadway of Whitehall. All the open spaces which abound in this neighbourhood, spaces which at the last coronation did not exist, were utilised.

Round the Abbey.

At the time of Queen Victoria's coronation of the western towers and the entrance to Dean's Yard. It is therefore impossible to institute any comparison between this part of the great show on the two occasions, even leaving out mention of the greatest change of all, that which was effected by the rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament. Similar additions to the open spaces have been made in many places on the return route, and though the opening of Trafalgar Square dates before that of Queen Victoria's coronation, namely in 1829, it was not completed till long after. Another opening, of much smaller size, now visible on the route, is that on which a fountain stands on the irregular space, formerly

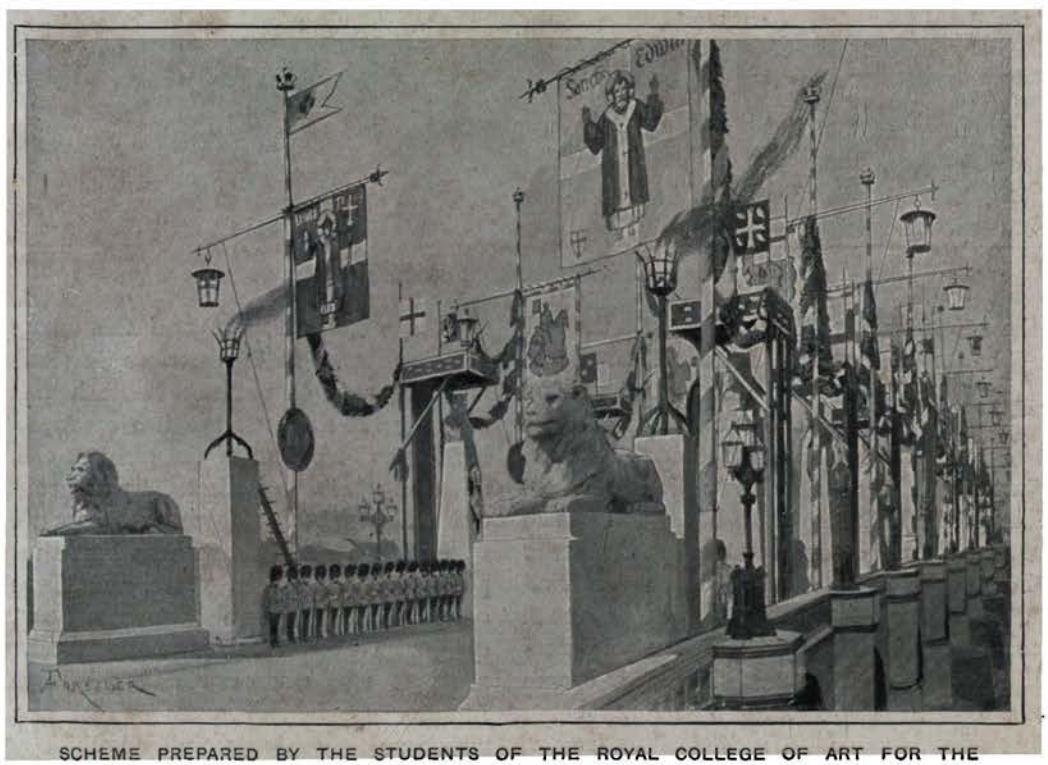
Regent Circus South, where Shaftesbury Avenue, Regent Street, and Piccadilly meet. The widening at the western end of Piccadilly, at Hyde Park Corner, has but lately been accomplished.

With regard to the necessary fittings in Westminster Abbey, much apprehension was excited in certain circles as to injuries to the old church. The process of turning it into what it is officially called "the Theatre" was considered hazardous. On former occasions monuments had been broken, shields and statuettes removed and never replaced, canopies and finials destroyed. More care was taken in 1838, but warned by the experience gained in 1887, when some irreparable mistakes were made, the authorities acted under the best advice at every step. It is no secret that the work of preparation was repeatedly inspected by the august personage principally concerned, and both the King and the Queen examined the arrangements personally on the 12th of June.

Preparing "the Theatre."

The west front was effectually screened and disguised. As at the coronation of Queen Victoria, a huge temporary portico was erected. This timber building was contrived as much to protect the church and the exterior of the chamber called "Jerusalem" as to furnish robing rooms, places of rest and retreat for the assembled officials, the episcopal dignitaries, the ministers and nobles, and especially the ladies destined to take part in the functions of State within. We could perhaps have wished that a structure so ephemeral should have looked what it really was, namely a shed. But the deceptive piece of scene-painting which gave us instead a handsome imitation of Gothic domestic architecture on the site of the old Almonry, in which four centuries ago William Caxton set up his press, was not wholly amiss. It enabled the clergy, in fulfilling the first of nineteen separate rubrics or parts of rubrics in the day's services, to "assemble outside the west door of the Church and await the approach of their Majesties." The royal entrance was at the north-western corner, and opened into a beautifully decorated hall, hung with costly tapestries, from which access was had on one hand to a series of retiring and robing rooms, and on the other to the west door of the nave.

Within the Church much care was taken to select and adjust the hangings. The patterns were chosen the year before, and the fabrics were



SCHEME PREPARED BY THE STUDENTS OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF ART FOR THE DECORATION OF WESTMINSTER BRIDGE.

in process of manufacture during the whole winter. Various appropriate colours were employed to produce a gorgeous effect, but it seemed as though the prevalent hues were shades of blue, ranging from purple. The Tudor rose with a quiet blue background was largely employed, while gold borders and resplendent banners, bearing the arms of the Kingdom, everywhere enlivened the walls. For the first time, it may safely be asserted, since the reign of James I. at least, the upholsterer has not had his way. The hangings, to use the technical term, were not "draped." There was no fringe made on bobbins. The splendid fabrics were disposed rather as tapestry than as upholstery. The so-called Gothic style in such things was scrupulously adhered to, and for the first time, apparently, the Abbey was decorated in accordance with ecclesiastical taste.

The carpet was a work of art in itself. It was made at Worcester. The deep Mandarin blue of the ground formed an admirable foil to the gold and scarlet of the moving figures which passed and re-passed on its surface. The Order of the Garter furnished the motive of the design, the motto, *Honi Soit Qui Mal y Pense,* being worked in together with Tudor roses, oak and bay leaves, shamrocks and thistles, and other badges and devices, including, with perhaps a new significance, the African lotus. The thick velvet pile of that part of the carpeting which covered the space immediately in front of the altar was of a darker shade and plain. It was calculated that the whole space to be covered was no less than 725 square yards.

The Carpet.

The style which dominated everything could not but produce a feeling of confidence in the mind of the spectator. Accustomed as he must be to the inharmonious and incongruous ornamentation produced by the ordinary workman when fitting up a church for a wedding, or any unusual function or festivity, he saw for the first time, perhaps, gorgeousness and simplicity combined in new and pleasing proportions. Whether he put it into words or not, he felt that the minds which superintended the arrangements of these hangings were those of men who possessed clear views, and, moreover, were those of custodians of the ancient works of art, of the historical monuments, of the hallowed associations of which the old church of St. Peter is the repository, who would allow no injury to anything in their keeping.

The traditional arrangements for a Coronation were, nevertheless, in no wise changed. The chair of St. Edward, together with the second chair, in which the first Queen to sit was Mary, the consort who reigned with William III., was brought from behind the screen, and they were placed facing the communion table—or what, for convenience, we may call the altar. The two chairs described as "before" and "below" the two thrones, were ready with their desks and faldstools. The space on which they all stood was raised, as at the time of the Jubilee Thanksgiving in 1887, on a few shallow steps, sufficient to bring the King and Queen, with the great officers of state surrounding them and bearing the Regalia, to a higher level than the peers and peeresses who were nearest. Beyond were the seats in the transepts. In one very important particular, however, the arrangements for the seating of so great a multitude differed from those in use on former occasions. In all the pictures of the coronations of former

Kings we see a long slope of seats in tiers, facing westward and rising almost directly from above the reredos behind the Holy Table. These seats must have formed a kind of roof to the chapel of Edward the Confessor, and have sloped up, past and over the chantry of Henry V., into the apse of the triforium at the far east end of the church. On this occasion there were no seats to eastward of the chancel. The retiring rooms for the King and Queen were erected in the chapel of the Confessor, and at either side of his shrine; but it is understood that special royal injunctions forbade any disturbance of monuments or any adaptation by temporary removal for the enlargement of the very limited space available.

It may be assumed without fear of contradiction that no coronation of which history tells us was ever so thoroughly thought out and so carefully arranged in all its parts. Whether it was in the Abbey, in the processions, in the distribution of bounty, in the reviews, in the accommodations provided for foreign princes, for the ministers and officials who represented our colonies and dependencies, for the soldiers of many races who represented the British Army, all was carefully mapped out and planned beforehand that it might go without friction or difficulty.

At the beginning of June an event took place which, though it was not in any sense a "preparation," nevertheless so greatly influenced the aspect of all the preparations that it claims a place in this record of the Coronation. Peace was proclaimed, and a load of anxiety was removed from many hearts, a burden of grief was lightened by the thought that those who died for their country in South Africa did not die in vain, and a brighter hue was diffused as the shadow which had darkened recent years passed off. There was little talk of triumph or exultation, but everyone felt glad that no sound of warfare should interrupt the festivities of King Edward's coronation.

Peace Proclaimed.

Here we have had no occasion for the services of the slave who, in a Roman triumph, whispered "Memento Mori" in the ear of the hero of the hour. No tomb, like Charlemagne's, has been presented; the reeds and the smoking flax of a papal enthronement have been omitted. It is fitting that this should be the case. All the prayers and the anthems testified to the humility of the Sovereign of a Christian people; the thanksgivings for the return of peace have been free from pride; and the celebrations, both religious and secular, have shown that in their joy both King and people have not forgotten the sorrowful; in their abundance they have remembered the Giver of all good gifts, and have distributed of their substance to feed the poor.

THE PORTICO ERECTED AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY JUST BEFORE COMPLETION.

A PAGE OF HONOUR (LORD ACHESON)
AT THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

THE
CORONATION
POSTPONED

CHAPTER VII.

THE KING'S ILLNESS.

Peace—The Thanksgiving Service—The King and Queen at Aldershot—Illness—Journey to Windsor—The Progress to Buckingham Palace—A State Dinner—Tuesday Morning—Street Decorations—A Rumour of Evil—The Official News—The Operation—The Scene in Westminster Abbey—The King's Medical Men—Course of the Illness—"Out of Danger."

HOPE and joy began the month of June. The proclamation of Peace on the 2nd was closely followed by a Thanksgiving Service in St. Paul's. The King and Queen attended in state on Sunday the 8th, a *Te Deum*, composed by the late Sir Arthur Sullivan—his last completed work—was performed, and the Bishop of London preached. The sermon lasted but ten minutes, and was heard by an immense congregation, among whom the close attention paid by the King to every word of the preacher was remarked by all who were near enough. The text was the last sentence in Psalm xxix.: "The blessing of peace." The last words of the sermon, viewed in the light of what a few days was to bring, seem almost prophetic. They contained a warning lest in "the softer days of peace" we should forget "the lessons we have been taught in the stern school of war"; and the Bishop ended with a hope that these lessons might be "deepened and not blunted by the blessing of peace."

Truly, the nation to which he spoke had need of all the qualities he named—self-control, endurance, patience, and cheerfulness—to meet the calamity which was to come upon it in little more than a fortnight. Peace, we know, has its victories as well as war. Assuredly, we have learned by experience, it has also its disasters, its untoward circumstances, its disappointments.

In the previous chapter are detailed the chief preparations which had been going on for many months. In a subsequent chapter will be found some account of the fate of these costly arrangements for the celebration of the 26th. Here we may confine our attention to a narrative of the chief events on which all the others depended.

On Monday, June 16th, the Review at Aldershot was intended to open a long series of festivities, of which the Naval Review at Spithead, two days after the Coronation, was intended to be the last.

King and Queen at Aldershot.

The King, the Queen, the Prince and the Princess of Wales, and a large and distinguished company of Coronation guests, arrived at the camp on Saturday afternoon. The Royal Pavilion, originally constructed about half a century ago for the use of Queen Victoria, and for many years rarely occupied, was opened for the occasion, and such preparations as suggested themselves to the local military authorities were undertaken to render it fit for habitation by the members of the Royal Family. The cold weather of the previous month and the extreme humidity of that particular week must have counteracted their best efforts, and the wooden house cannot, even

under more favourable circumstances, have been the most healthy abode it is possible to imagine. The military tattoo and serenade of that Saturday night took place in high wind and heavy rain; and no one can have been surprised to hear on Sunday morning that the King, who had been present in spite of the weather, had suffered in consequence, and that an attack of pain, which was described in the papers as lumbago, had supervened.

In well-informed circles that Sunday there was a feeling of apprehension. The King's courage and powers of endurance were so well known that they led many people to infer something more serious than such stiffness or pain as could be accounted for by lumbago. He must have been prevented, it was asserted, by his medical advisers from showing himself at service, and they must have been actuated by the appearance of symptoms which they did not make public. A wild story of high temperature during Saturday night was circulated both in the camp and in London. On Sunday morning the Queen attended service at All Saints', but the King remained within for the day. On Monday the Queen, notwithstanding the weather, represented the King at the Review, and later on the same day their Majesties drove to Windsor Castle.

Thus, then, terminated the first of the series of Coronation festivities. The public mind was still free from apprehension. A few days' rest; the care and watchfulness of the physicians, his Majesty's well-known vigour, many other things, were invoked to prove that, in spite of the alarm of Sunday, all would go well; and in London, and not less in distant parts of the country, preparations, celebrations, and decorations went merrily on. That anything could occur to interrupt the King's rapid recovery was not thought of for a moment. People whose usual inclination it was to expect the worst were for once quite cheerful. The smallest sign of improvement was eagerly seized, and generally exaggerated. The King had not been able to go to Ascot, true; but he had been able to drive out and meet the Queen and the Royal Family on their return from the course. And so the week wore on, and Sunday came round with the cheerful news that the King had been present at divine service in the Castle chapel.

At Windsor.

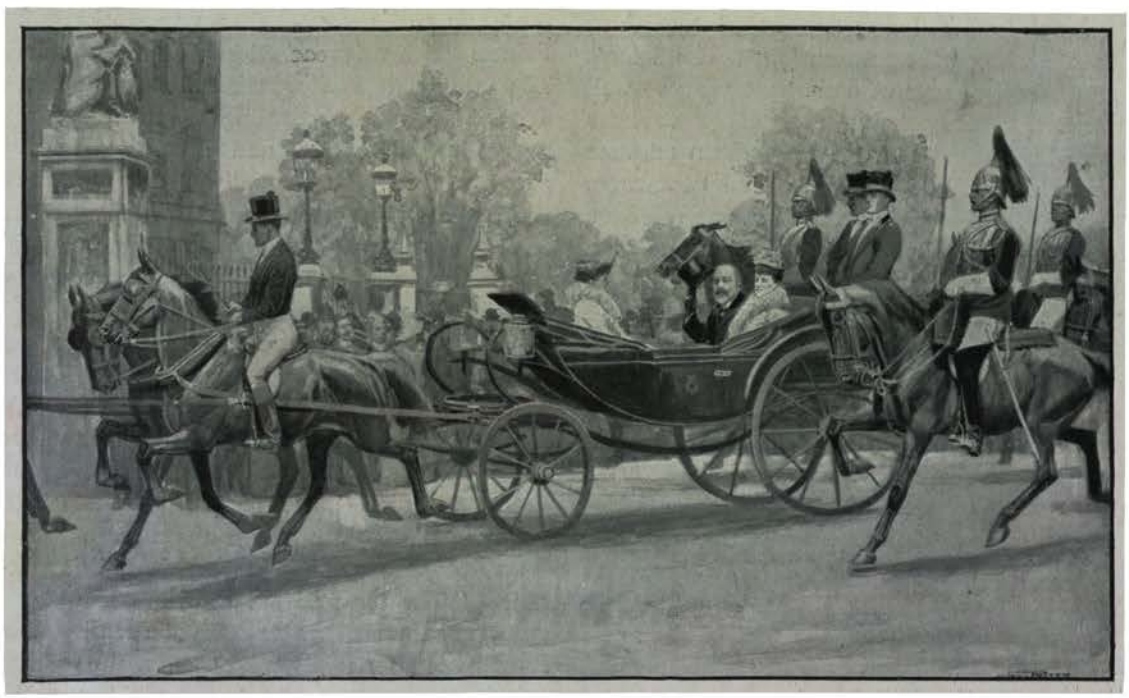
On Monday, "the Monday before the Coronation," as it was called, the King and Queen left Windsor Castle in an open carriage and drove to the railway station. At Paddington, which was gaily decorated, and where immense crowds had assembled, his Majesty took his usual kindly notice of the railway officials, and, accompanied by the Queen, drove through the two miles of applauding people and the waving of endless banners to Buckingham Palace, which was reached in brilliant sunshine. The most contradictory accounts of the short drive appeared. According to one the King never looked better, and acknowledged his people's greetings continually. Others reported that he was pale, wore muffling, and lay back. In short, the fact of the removal from Windsor was in itself reassuring to any who were vaguely anxious about his Majesty's health.

The Progress to Buckingham Palace.

Next morning the daily papers were exuberant in their congratulations. One spoke of the happy omen offered by "that Queen's weather" for which King Edward's mother was famous. Another said that "London was radiant," which, indeed, it was. The leading organ in particular was full of congratulations. Here, too, "omens" were considered favourable. "The temperature rose, the sun shone out, and summer became more of a reality than it had been for many weeks." Perhaps it was this improvement as much as anything which raised the spirits of Londoners. The days of darkness and dampness were forgotten at once. As the same paper confidently prophesied, "There is no fear that the completeness and splendour of the service in the Abbey may be marred by any untoward incident, such as could not be wholly excluded from the region of speculation a few days ago."

The grounds for this certainty and exultation were very slight. The improvement in the weather had affected men's minds. True, it was reported that the physicians had pronounced their royal patient to be a great deal better. The pain from which the King had suffered, whether it took the form of lumbago or whether it was symptomatic of a much more serious affection, had subsided during the week. The first day of convalescence —that is, the Sunday—had been passed at Windsor, when, we read, the public were admitted in the afternoon to the East Terrace

of the Castle to hear the band, and "many thousands of persons availed themselves of the privilege, and the terraces and gardens were thronged." A special Coronation March, composed by a Windsor organist, having been presented to the King, was performed by the band under the windows of the private apartments. This is a specimen of the quiet and rest which, we were assured, who are experienced in such recondite matters, that a State dinner of the English Court is the most magnificent function of the kind in the world. The table groans with gold plate. The china is gay with the rarest paintings. Flowers, foliage and fruit, the tribute of all climates, vie with the glass and the linen in reflecting the sunlike brilliance of the electric chandeliers. In short, the scene, without the



THE KING'S ENTRY INTO HIS CAPITAL ON THE 23RD OF JUNE.

so greatly benefited the King during the few days' sojourn at the Castle. It does not need the list of the services, the music, the visitors, the drive, the cheering crowds, to show us that the invalid's strength must have been sorely taxed.

But on the Monday morning no fresh illness was apparent. Their Majesties duly reached London in the afternoon, as already mentioned, and, with a brief interval, the Coronation festivities proceeded. A dinner at Buckingham Palace was preceded by the reception of the Russian Grand Duke, the Austrian Archduke, the Duke and Duchess of Aosta, and five or six other representatives of foreign potentates. The dinner was attended by seventy guests, a list of whom appeared in the Tuesday morning papers.

A State Dinner.

It has always been asserted by our foreign visitors, as well as by those of our own nation guests and the attendants, is that which children picture to themselves as Fairyland; and when it is enhanced by the presence of gorgeous uniforms, splendid dresses, showers of diamonds and sparkling jewels, it needs only the addition of beauty and rank and ancient names to make it all that can be done to attain a magnificent result.

Here were the envoys of the Royal Families of Europe. Each monarch sent his nearest of kin. Here were the heirs of Russia, Austria, Italy, Germany, Spain, Denmark, Portugal, Sweden, Belgium, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, Roumania, and Greece, an Imperial Prince from Japan and another from Corea, the nephew of the King of Ethiopia, the brother of the Shah of Persia, and the sons of the Princes of Montenegro and Monaco. The Royal Family of England, the descendants and relatives of Queen Victoria, were largely represented, and such a

ST. JAMES'S STREET AS DECORATED FOR THE 26TH OF JUNE.

gathering has probably never been seen at any time in the world's history assembled at one table.

The morning papers omitted one fact—the giver of the feast was absent!

London looked her best that Tuesday morning. From sunrise the streets had been thronged. The last touches were everywhere being put to the decorations. Those of St. James's Street were perhaps the most satisfactory, considered as a whole. The long festoons of flowers and foliage crossed each other so as to form almost a roof overhead, such as travellers sometimes see where the vines are trained from tree to tree in the plains of Lombardy or along an Etruscan road. Popular judgment fixed on a single house as the best decorated. This was at the north-western corner, where the street joins Piccadilly. Here advantage was taken of the two fronts to make, with balconies, wreaths and mottoes, a "bower of roses," such as poets might have described. The great club houses in Pall Mall and Piccadilly had separate schemes of decoration, as had Devonshire House, Walsingham House, and the palaces of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Rothschild, Lord Glenesk, Lady Burdett-Coutts, Mr. Wernher, and many others. Going further into town, it was observed that in Trafalgar Square and along Whitehall the chief decorations were the red-covered seats, of which many thousands rose in tiers, now on the left, now on the right, all the way to where the grey towers of the Abbey terminated the view. Half way to the Abbey rose the Canadian Arch, 56 feet high and 60 feet wide, the most ambitious and on the whole, in spite of an ill-proportioned outline, the most successful of the arches. A still less pleasing outline was that of the Colonial Arch a little further along the same street, on which the shields —some of them, no doubt, improvised for the occasion—of all the colonies and possessions of King Edward beyond the seas were duly emblazoned.

That Tuesday Morning.

From Whitehall it was but a step to Westminster Bridge. Here the School of Art supplied the design. It wanted what may be called continuity. There was no necessary connection between the separate groups of obelisks, although they were tied to each other by festoons. Each pair flanked a tall pedestal, on which was the bust of a king or queen—Alfred, Edward I., Elizabeth, Victoria, may be mentioned—banners of their arms surmounting a canopy over each head. Figures of angels and sitting lions completed a very mixed effect. At the eastern end of the bridge the street was very handsomely hung with

wreaths and flags, somewhat as in St. James's.

Turning towards the City from Charing Cross, individual effort was everywhere visible, but everywhere was dwarfed and eclipsed by the huge banks of seats round St. Mary's Church, St. Clement Danes, where the old streets have lately been demolished, and at the City boundary of Temple Bar. In many West-end streets, far removed from the intended road of the processions, the seeker came upon splendid displays, as, for instance, in Oxford Street and Holborn, and about the Circus, and the irregular space which was a circus, and is now marked by the Shaftesbury fountain. Most of them were for the illuminations, notably those in Savile Row, those of Messrs. Pears in Oxford Street and of Messrs. Broadwood in Pulteney Street, where lamps first made to celebrate Trafalgar and subsequently used for Waterloo were brought from their storehouses and hung up once more. The long row of haberdashers with Welsh names, whose shops are on the north side of Oxford Street between the Marble Arch and Oxford Circus, celebrated their reviving nationality not only with numerous "Rouge Dragons," but with a "God Save the King" ("Duw Gadwor Brenin") in Welsh.

Ludgate Circus was surrounded by gigantic golden lions which guarded this entrance to the old city, and, in heraldic language, respected each other from between civic fasces adorned with flags, and canopied overhead with wreaths and festoons of flowers, a vast crown of gold and crimson marking the crossing. This, which must have been the most costly single decoration, was one of the most successful, and was constantly the object of an admiring crowd.

At the centre of the City—what is vaguely denominated "The Bank"—the buildings were chiefly decorated with a view to the illuminations at night. The front of the Royal Exchange, which faced the sightseer arriving from the west, was lighted up experimentally one night

WESTMINSTER BRIDGE ROAD IN JUNE.

in June, as were the Bank on the left and the Mansion House on the right. The result was magnificent—a great crown of light blazing before the pillars of the portico in the centre, with lesser lights to outline the building. The tall columns of the Mansion House and the pediment were wreathed with chains of small lamps, cressets flaming and lighting up the banners on the roof. The lower façade of the heraldry—was that of the seventeenth century. The wrought-iron supports or brackets were pretty and more substantial than is usual in mere decorations, while the pictured devices were in colours with a highly metallic glaze. Many of them figure in Mr. Hilton Price's well-known volume, but the first at the western end, the seven stars, does not occur there. The cardinal's hat was over against Pope's Head Court,

THE STANDS AT ST. PAUL'S (SOUTH SIDE) IN JUNE.

Bank of England was equally resplendent, something like a gigantic *fleur-de-lis* or Greek honeysuckle of light being at the south-west corner, and series of wreaths marking the entrance, all eclipsed by a crowned E.R., which occupied the centre of the south front.

Much care had been expended on Lombard Street, where the project of decoration included the hanging out of the old but unforgotten signs of "the goldsmiths who kept running cashes." This idea could be but partially carried into effect. A few great stone-built street fronts now occupy what must have been at least eighty ordinary brick bow-windowed shops when they were visited by Pepys and his contemporaries. The shields showing the signs were about a dozen in number, and the heraldry—if it can be called and was a tavern sign in 1660. There were two artichokes at Messrs. Alexander's and at the Royal Insurance Company's office, a black horse "counter segreant and regardant" was over Messrs. Lloyd's, and a black spread eagle at Messrs. Barclay and Bevan's. In addition were to be seen Gresham's grasshopper—not very successfully reproduced and wanting in jumping power—a vine, a head of Charles II., a lion, a ram, an anchor, and at the further end, over the Crédit Lyonnais, a blackamoor lady, with white draperies.

By mid-day on the Tuesday these and the other main thoroughfares were crowded with sightseers. The omnibus and cab traffic was almost suspended, or proceeded at a foot pace. The silence of the wheels was more than compensated by the sound of voices, every here

and there breaking into cheers as some particularly popular device came into sight. The busy hum had become a roar; good humour and hilarity, a happiness free from the slightest anxiety, manifested itself everywhere.

Suddenly, to use a novelist's expression, a strange thing happened. A hush fell upon the throng. An expression of astonishment, of incredulity, passed over the sea of upturned faces like a squall over a calm surface. Some rumour of evil had gone forth. The momentary hush was succeeded by an almost angry note of interrogation, and that by a groan of despair. To those who saw it this description will appear too tame. London was stunned!

A Rumour of Evil.

The news which had come like an electric shock was undoubtedly enough to affect the vast multitude who were more or less deeply committed to the preparations, as well as the myriads for whose convenience and pleasure these widespread arrangements had been made. To most of us the first distinct words were briefly "The Coronation is put off." This was about, or just after, twelve. The clocks were still striking in places, and some of the steeples slowly ringing out a lugubrious tune seemed to add to the general feeling. Many turned pale and stared in stupefaction; women burst into tears. The news was abundantly confirmed long before the half-hour sounded, and one by one the following sentences were posted in Fleet Street, the Strand, and in Piccadilly:—

The Official News.

June 24th, 11.15 *a.m.*—The King is suffering from perityphlitis. His condition on Saturday was so satisfactory that it was hoped that with care his Majesty would be able to go through the Coronation ceremony. Yesterday evening a recrudescence became manifest, rendering a surgical operation necessary to-day.

(Signed) LISTER, THOS. SMITH, FRANCIS LAKING, THOS. BARLOW, FREDERICK TREVES.

THE SAVILE CLUB, PICCADILLY, IN JUNE.

This news spread consternation far and wide. The provinces, all parts of the Empire indeed, were affected by it as well as London. Foreigners, of whom many thousands had come over to witness the festivities, have since expressed their surprise at the calmness with which England received the news. Englishmen, on the other hand, had never seen their countrymen so deeply moved. The crowds by the railings of Buckingham Palace watched silently for news or spoke in low, hushed tones.

During the day three other bulletins were issued, and while they reported that his Majesty had successfully passed through the ordeal of a most serious operation, they made no attempt to disguise from his subjects that his life was in grave danger. These later bulletins are as follows:—

June 24th, 2 *p.m.*—The operation on his Majesty has been successfully performed. A large abscess has been evacuated. The King has borne the operation well, and is in a satisfactory condition.

June 24th, 6 *p.m.*—His Majesty continues to make satisfactory progress, and has been much relieved by the operation.

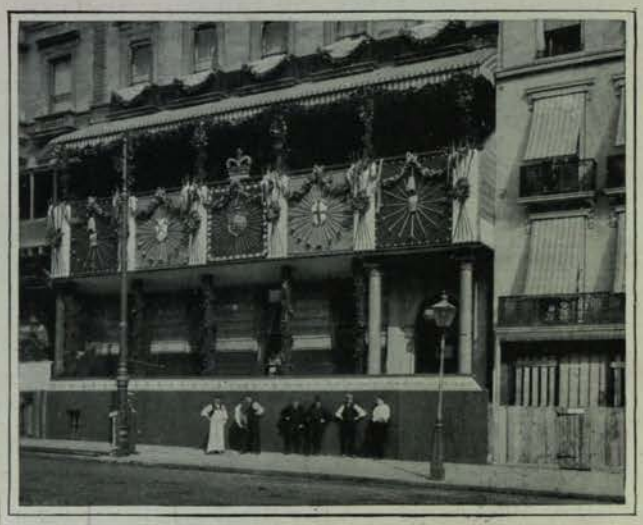
June 24th, 11.30 *p.m.*—The King's condition is as good as can be expected after so serious an operation. His strength is maintained. There is less pain, and his Majesty has taken a little nourishment. It will be some days before it will be possible to say that the King is out of danger.

One most touching scene enacted that Tuesday morning must not be passed over in this record. In Westminster Abbey the choir was assembled for a complete rehearsal of the music to be performed on the Thursday. Many of the officials, those who had to take their part in the processions, young peers and others who were to act as pages, the bishops who were to read the service, the military bands and the bandmasters, together

In Westminster Abbey.

LUDGATE CIRCUS IN JUNE.

ALBEMARLE STREET.



THE CAVALRY CLUB, PICCADILLY.

THE CLUBS, PALL MALL.

IMPERIAL SERVICE CLUB, PICCADILLY.

BATH HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

DECORATIONS IN PALL MALL, PICCADILLY, AND ALBEMARLE STREET IN JUNE

(*Photo : Elliot & Fry, Baker Street, W.*)
LORD LISTER.

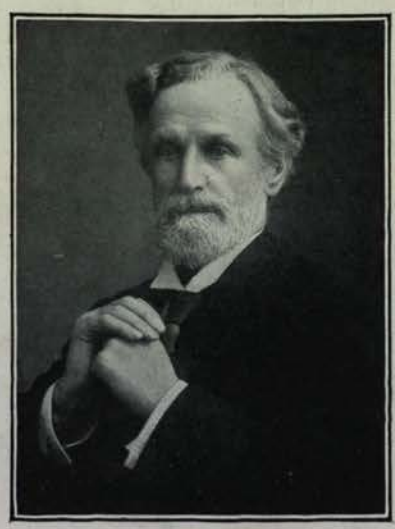
with the organists, Sir Frederick Bridge and Sir Walter Parratt, all these were assembled and the brass instruments had just concluded a preliminary flourish of trumpets, when the news of the King's alarming condition was brought by Lord Esher. A moment's whispered consultation, and the Bishop of London, who, like the rest of the clergy present, was in plain black morning dress, without robes, stepped forward, and said :

"I have to make the sad statement that, in consequence of the illness of the King, the Coronation is postponed."

After an instant's pause he added :

"We will hold a short service."

In the consternation which spread from face to face the effect of the announcement was indescribable, but the Bishop's subsequent proposal—"We will hold a short service"—seemed to relieve the tension. The Bishop of Bath knelt at the lectern immediately, where he was to have sung the Litany



(*Photo : Bassano, Old Bond Street, W.*)
SIR THOMAS SMITH, BART

on Thursday ; behind him knelt the Bishop who had spoken, the venerable Dean of Westminster close by, with the Archdeacon, the sub-dean, two or three canons, and, by chance, the Speaker of the House of Commons and some members of his family.

As the words of the great intercessory prayer were poured forth by the Bishop, the choir answering in the grand old music, so impressive, so familiar, so soothing, everyone thought with deep earnestness of the King, and

(*Photo: Lafayette.*)
SIR FREDERICK TREVES, BART

the successive sentences seemed at each response to gather new meaning and to express as nothing else could have done the supplications of the people. After the last "Amen!" of the Litany came the trembling voice of the aged Dean, invoking a blessing on the kneeling throng, which by this time included many of the workmen engaged in the Abbey, who, when the order was given to cease work, joined in the petitions for succour to the royal sufferer.

No scene among the many which those old walls have

(*Photo: Barraud, Oxford Street, W.*)
SIR F. LAKING, BART.

(*Photo : Bassano, Old Bond Street, W.*)
DR. F. W HEWITT.

witnessed can have been more striking than the sight of this group of all sorts and conditions of men, bending together in humble supplication, and offering their prayers for the King, who at that moment in his palace but a furlong or two away was lying sick almost to death.

This Litany at Westminster was typical of what went on all over the country. The note sounded there vibrated everywhere. In churches and chapels, at committees and assemblies, at parades and open-air gatherings, the cry went up from millions of supplicants, "God save the King."

The King's Medical Men.

The surgeons and physicians, who had undertaken, if possible, to relieve the grievous symptoms which had so suddenly been manifested, need more than a passing mention here. They represent in themselves the progress which was made during the reign of Queen Victoria in improving the application of medical and surgical science to the art of healing. Before anything could be done to relieve a patient in the extremity of pain and danger which had overtaken King Edward on the very eve of his Coronation, it was needful to find a man who, without fear or doubt, could tell how to place him in the exact and measured condition of insensibility which would best help the operator, and at the same time provide for the patient's most rapid and complete recovery, with the least possible after-inconvenience and suffering. This man was Dr. Frederick William Hewitt, of the London Hospital, anæsthetist to the King, and so well did he perform his delicate task that after the operation the august patient recovered consciousness without delay and without suffering any ill-effects whatever.

It was, however, chiefly owing to the great discovery of Lord Lister that such an operation as that which his Majesty had to undergo could be performed with anything like certainty of success. Those of us who remember the days when, well within the limits of the late Queen's reign, anæsthetics were becoming known and were everywhere being welcomed as helping the surgeon almost as much as his patient, know that there was too often the reservation that the most perfect constitution and the highest skill so often failed before some form of mortification—some after-effect of poison from without against which it seemed hopeless to contend. Lord Lister, in the years before 1880, had directed his attention chiefly to the solution of the questions involved in this discouraging fact. In the end he answered the last of them, and from that day a new era set in for operative surgery. He received the gold medal of the Royal Society. In 1881 his discovery was acknowledged in France; the antiseptic treatment became a fact for the relief of all the world. A year later he was made a baronet, and in 1897 he became the first peer who had risen to the House of Lords by his fame as a surgeon. In the Coronation *Gazette* he was named a member of the Order of Merit and a Privy Councillor.

In the brilliant circle round the stricken King none was more conspicuous than the old man to whom so many sufferers now owe a measure of hope long denied. But it was upon a younger member of the same noble and philanthropic profession that all eyes were turned that anxious and eventful Tuesday. Sir Frederick Treves had but lately returned from his mission to South Africa, where he was

the colleague of the lamented Sir William MacCormac as consulting surgeon to the forces. His skill as an operator in surgical cases, his unerring eye, his firm hand, have long made him a foremost exponent of the new science. It seemed as if all the world turned to him that day for help; for he it was who had to bear the heavy responsibility of performing the operation. He also was named in the Coronation *Gazette*, he and Sir Francis Laking being created baronets.

Sir Thomas Smith, who was called into consultation, must have been long and intimately known to the King, as he was the consulting surgeon, since 1873, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, of which his Majesty, as Prince of Wales, was for many years the head. Sir Thomas Barlow was physician in ordinary to the household of Queen Victoria, and he, with Sir Francis Laking, just mentioned, may be said to have represented the more purely medical art in the consultation at Buckingham Palace.

That the public trust in the surgeons and physicians was not misplaced became speedily apparent. There was a confident tone in the bulletins almost from the first. The place had been found immediately. The relief had been instantaneous. The operation, begun at 12.30, was entirely concluded before 1.30. When the King regained consciousness, his first thought was of the disappointment of his people. This fact, though it was not mentioned in the bulletins, was speedily made known, and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity.

The happy moment when the medical men could, even conditionally, use the phrase, "Out of danger," seemed long—but, considering the seriousness of the case, it was in reality soon—in coming. Public feeling had been very greatly moved, as we have seen. Not a few people never left the railings which enclose Buckingham Palace during the first night of anxiety. The successive bulletins were eagerly scanned, and by way of relieving the public tension it was arranged that every postal telegraph office throughout the kingdom should exhibit the latest news in the window.

The principal announcements were as follows. On the same day, the 24th, there were in all four bulletins, which have been repeated above. On the morning of the 25th the first news was good, and the last at night was: "The King continues to make satisfactory progress." At ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th, when the doctors had visited their patient, it was reported that his Majesty had passed a better night and had enjoyed some refreshing sleep. That evening the temperature became normal, and before midnight the King was said to have passed "a fairly comfortable day, the strength being well maintained." The only symptom of uneasiness was in the pain caused by dressing the wound, and this was gradually diminished day by day till the evening of the 27th (Friday), when the doctors were able to pronounce his Majesty's condition satisfactory: "The King has had a comfortable day and has made substantial improvement."

On the 28th, at their morning visit, they found reason to describe the situation as follows:—

> The King has had a good night, and his improved condition is maintained. We are happy that we are able to state that we consider his Majesty to be out of immediate danger. The general condition is satisfactory. The operation wound, however, still needs constant attention, and as much concern as attaches to his Majesty is connected with the wound. Under the most favourable conditions his Majesty's recovery must be protracted. The 2 p.m. bulletin will be discontinued.

This news was everywhere received with the deepest satisfaction, and the next day's report, being equally favourable, gave occasion to thanksgivings in most places of worship.

Meanwhile, minor announcements were made from time to time, showing the King's anxiety that the disappointment of their hopes should fall as lightly on his subjects as possible, and that its weight should be mitigated by various provisions. For instance, on Thursday a letter from Lord Knollys was published: "It is the King's express desire that his coronation dinners to the people of London shall take place as previously arranged." Nor was his care for them only. On the same day, which was to have been Coronation day, the list of Coronation honours was issued, "by special command of the King," and the public noted with special interest that Lord Lister's name appeared on the roll of the new Order of Merit, and that Sir Frederick Treves and Sir Francis Laking had been made baronets. Many "Intercessory Services" were held that day, and were repeated, with notes of praise and thanksgiving, on the following Sunday. On Thursday and Friday the Prince and Princess of Wales entertained parties of children to tea at Marlborough House, and a large number of promised celebrations, on the receipt of favourable news, were carried out in the provinces. At Belfast it was computed that not fewer than 12,000 children accepted the invitation of the Lord Mayor. At Liverpool there was a garden party, at Newport a dinner to the aged, at other places illuminations. On the whole, however, the local disposition was to postpone all festivities. The King himself was understood to have expressed the desire that the celebrations in the country should be carried out as originally intended, but in this matter his subjects were obliged to disregard his wishes: it was not possible for them to engage in rejoicings while his life was hanging in the balance, and so the day that was to have been joyously spent in celebrating his coronation was almost universally devoted to intercessory services.

OUTSIDE BUCKINGHAM PALACE: THE LAST BULLETIN FOR THE NIGHT.

On the morning of the 5th of July came the happy announcement not only that the King was steadily improving, but that he could be described as "out of danger." A few days more and the royal yacht was got ready, a step long expected by

Convalescence.

HIS MAJESTY AT THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON BOARD THE "VICTORIA AND ALBERT" (THE PRINCE OF WALES AND THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE ON THE LEFT, LORD JAMES OF HEREFORD ON THE RIGHT).

all who remembered Sir Frederick Treves's opinion of sea air, of which, in his position with respect to the Missions to Seamen, he has had ample means of judging. On the morning of the 15th the King, accompanied by the Queen and attended by the medical advisers and by the nurses, was removed to Portsmouth and placed on board the *Victoria and Albert*, which speedily made her way to the eastern end of the Solent, and anchored off Cowes. A further step in advance followed on Friday, the 25th, when the yacht, attended by the *Osborne*, sailed round the Isle of Wight, returning to her moorings in the evening. From this time the signs of convalescence were abundant, and at a Cabinet Council, held on board the royal yacht on the afternoon of Saturday, July 26th, the King signed two proclamations, one appointing that day fortnight (August 9th) for the Coronation ceremony and the other setting that day apart as a Bank Holiday.

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE JUNE AND JULY CELEBRATIONS.

The Review at Aldershot—The Fleet at Spithead—Departure of the Foreign Ships and Dispersal of the British Fleet—The Guests from India—The Colonial Premiers—Children at Marlborough House—The Coronation Bazaar—The King's Dinners to the Poor of London—Visits of Members of the Royal Family—The Queen's Teas.

IN all the events which were brought into prominence by the approach of the date originally appointed for the Coronation, and its subsequent postponement, those which concerned the Army and Navy hold the foremost place. A great review of the troops at Aldershot was intended to come before the Westminster ceremony. A great review of the fleet at Spithead was to follow it. As things turned out, neither of these events took place as had been intended. The review of the troops, marred in the first place by the weather, was further deprived of its importance by the King's absence. The Naval Review was never held. With the Coronation itself, on which everything else depended, it was put off, but not until a magnificent force had assembled. It may be best to describe as succinctly as possible what happened at Aldershot and at Spithead.

The Review at Aldershot.

To many Londoners who could easily be pre-

THE REVIEW AT ALDERSHOT. "THE KING'S COLONIALS" MARCHING PAST QUEEN ALEXANDRA

sent on the Hampshire Hills the promise of a great spectacle of the kind had irresistible attractions. To some of them, no doubt, a naval review could never compete with what might be enjoyed on dry land, and though a sailor might retort that the dry land was not always to be had, there was much to be said for the opinion. As things turned out, the review of June 16th failed in this particular. Dry land was wanting to the enjoyment of the multitude of the spectators, and to the bad weather also was assigned in the thoughts of many the illness of the King, which was the chief cause of their disappointed hopes. To the same reason must also be attributed, at any rate in part, the comparatively small assembly of soldiers. Eighty thousand men, it was confidently predicted, would be present. As a fact, the largest estimate of those actually reviewed was under 32,000. A little rain, even half a day's rain, might not have greatly mattered; an overcast sky might indeed have enhanced the effect of torchlight processions and fireworks in general at night. But the record of the three days—Saturday, Sunday, and Monday—was that of heavy and almost continuous rain, accompanied with searching and bitter squalls of chilly wind.

In the last chapter some mention was made of the arrival of the King and Queen at Aldershot and of the tattoo on Saturday night, at which, in spite of the weather, the King was present. Many of the regiments, both of the regular army and of the militia and the London volunteer corps, were under canvas. Everything was ready for a great and royal welcome. Cavalry, artillery, and engineers, together with the transport and medical services, were there with the infantry.

Upwards of 30,000 men, then, were assembled in the camp and its neighbourhood and round the familiar statue of the Duke of Wellington from Hyde Park Corner. Here the torch-bearers gathered on the Saturday night. Lines were formed, and a space was kept for the Royal Family. As each group, representing the three kingdoms, took up its allotted place, the national airs were played by the respective bands, and notwithstanding the sodden ground and the continued downpour, the programme was carried out, ending with Ken's Evening Hymn, after which the torches were extinguished. Unfortunately, the King, as we have seen, suffered from the chill contracted in the damp night air, and his absence affected the

rest of the Aldershot proceedings. Church parade on Sunday morning at All Saints was held without his Majesty, who remained indoors during the day. The Queen with the Princesses spent the afternoon in visits of mercy to the hospitals, including those for the soldiers and those for the wives and children of the temporary or permanent occupants of the camp. On Monday her Majesty, notwithstanding the weather, represented the King at the review, which included the presentation of colours to the 2nd Battalion of the Highland Light Infantry. It was remarked that a ray of sunshine lighted up the proceedings as the close carriage in which her Majesty had arrived from the Royal Pavilion was opened, and the brilliant uniforms not only of the troops but of a large contingent of Indian Princes, massed in a group near the saluting point, showed themselves effectively for a few brief minutes.

Sir Henry Hildyard was in command, and although the ground was sodden the march past was well carried out, but it was decided to shorten the proceedings as much as possible. The usual inspection of the troops was omitted, and the march past, in which the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, Earl Roberts, and many other eminent officers and soldiers, with such heroes of the South African war as Lord Chesham, Colonel Lindsay, and Sir Reginald Pole Carew, took part, was followed by an advance in line of the Royal Artillery. So the review was brought to a close, and the Queen drove back through the rain to the Pavilion.

The Naval Review had been appointed for Saturday, June 28th. That, it was expected, would be the day but one after the ceremonial of the Coronation in Westminster Abbey, and the next day after the long procession through Westminster, London, and Southwark, to which many Londoners looked forward even more eagerly than to any other festivity. A naval review is a thing by itself. Much was expected from it, and to many sight-seers the assembly of great ships was an attraction of the strongest kind: the royal inspection, the gaiety of the colours, and the firing of deafening salutes being comparatively unimportant. For them only the show, such as it was, had no disappointment. True, they missed the great lines of mail and other civil steamers specially chartered for the purpose, which were to have conveyed thousands of sight-seers from all parts of the kingdom — nay, from all parts of the world. Besides those afloat, Southampton, Portsmouth, and Southsea, and all the other towns and villages from which a view of Spithead and the Solent could be obtained, had been prepared to receive crowds of visitors.

The Fleet at Spithead.

Experienced sight-seers are agreed upon the merits of a naval review, considered merely as a spectacle. Its effect on the sight and on the hearing is enhanced by the impression of greatness, of size, of overwhelming strength, which it produces on the mind. I have seen a good many powerful fleets at anchor or in motion, and venture to think that a very few war-ships can produce a far greater effect on the imagination than three or four times their equivalent in fighting men on land. A great naval review is a sight never to be forgotten by those who can really see it; but of the many who assemble on shore or afloat very few are able to acquire more than a partial idea of the force exhibited. We see the ships that are nearest to us; the rest are dimly present in a background obscured by sea mists and smoke. In the Solent there are no high lands, no tall buildings from which a panoramic view can be obtained, for even the summit of the tower of the Portsmouth Town Hall, the tallest building on the coast, is not favourably situated for such a view, and, moreover, can only accommodate an extremely limited number

HER MAJESTY QUEEN ALEXANDRA.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE FLEET ASSEMBLED AT SPITHEAD IN JUNE.

of spectators. It is necessary for those on board the long line of mail steamers anchored off Haslar and Lee Point to stimulate their feelings by frequent recourse to the plan and the list, except when the royal yacht and its satellites steam by at a rapid pace, each ship saluting as it passes. In spite of this drawback, this limitation, the effect is always magnificent, and quite beyond description.

That a review in the grey waters of the Solent and under the grey sky of an English summer day would lack the elements which impressed on the memory such a scene as that which I witnessed at Gibraltar on the 20th of March, 1901, when the *Ophir*, bearing the present Prince and Princess of Wales on their Colonial Tour, came in sight, goes without saying. There was no soaring cliff to frame the view at one side, no blue Strait as a background, no sunny vine-clad hills, no snow-peaked Sierra, anywhere between the New Forest and Portsmouth. On the present occasion, in preparation for the review, there were twenty battle-ships or more, twenty-five cruisers, thirty gun-boats and brig-rigged men-of-war, besides thirty-five torpedo boats and destroyers, and a dozen small craft and launches. All these belonged to the Royal Navy.

Then, too, next to the battle-ships, and forming a column of themselves, were the men-of-war of other nations. There were sixteen of these ships, comprising representatives of the navies of the United States and Japan; of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Russia, Holland, and Germany, all our neighbours round the Baltic and North Sea; of France, Italy, Greece, Portugal, and Spain from the south; and of Chile and Argentina from South America.

It was intended that when the King in his fine new yacht had made the tour of all the lines, the *Victoria and Albert* was to be brought to and anchored between the Italian and the German ships, to receive the senior officers of the visitors and the admirals of the English fleet.

At the Naval Review of 1897, when the view was obscured by smoke, there was, of course, nothing for it but to wait patiently till the clouds rolled by; but when the view was perfectly clear it was only those accustomed to ships and shipping—and not always those—who knew what was to be seen. In order that this want of knowledge might not mar the impressiveness of the scene, it was arranged on this occasion —at the instance, it is said, of Lord Charles Beresford, who from long experience was well aware of the limitations of misdirected eyesight —that on the vessels which were chartered to convey members of the Houses of Parliament to the Naval Review, a certain number of officers were to be stationed to give information to those desirous of obtaining it.

The sight-seer at Spithead who was acquainted with the Navy, and understood how to appreciate what he saw, was perhaps less disappointed than the sight-seer who had gone to Aldershot. He had leisure to observe, and he derived clearer ideas from the view than anyone who did not know what to look for, who did not understand the meaning of the evolutions constantly going on, to whom the bugle calls spoke an unknown language and the flag-signals conveyed no message. To the experienced visitor at Spithead everything he saw told him of the presence of something which perchance he did not see. To all it was possible to attain some sense of the immensity of the display of power. One felt, in fact, as the first astronomers must have felt when they found it possible to resolve a few stars from the surrounding nebula, and to infer that the luminous cloud was all composed of similar stars. We could watch what went on in the ships nearest, and could come to conclusions as to the discipline, regularity, smooth working of every manœuvre, great or small, the seemingly automatic progress of every movement, and at the same time the overwhelming power of such a weapon of destruction. A comparison has sometimes been made between the power of a mail steamer and that of soldiers ashore, which is not uninteresting in this connection. A ship of the size of the *Ophir*, to mention a familiar example, steaming through, say, the Suez Canal, could pull over all the cavalry in the British regular army. Such a gigantic "tug-of-war" can never take place, but the comparison enables a landsman to understand, at least to a certain extent, what is meant when we speak of the idea of power as exhibited by such a fleet as that which was anchored at Spithead in the last week of June.

At night this feeling was greatly intensified. Without any great illuminations, such as were expected if the review had taken place, it was at night that it was possible best to

judge of the great space occupied by the ships. Sometimes, as we watched this group or that, a whole dark corner, whose existence had not even been suspected, became visible for a few minutes and then retired again into its pristine obscurity. And this phenomenon occurred not once but many times, and gave a stronger impression of the magnitude of the whole show than did any one of the two or three great outbursts of light. In them, as in daylight, only what was close at hand was really visible, the rest being lost in the universal blaze.

The people of Portsmouth, Southampton, and the Isle of Wight sent forth every available tug or paddle boat. Innumerable yachts hovered round the great ships of war. There were visits to the foreign vessels; some small festivities took place ashore. The admirals called on each other, and many determined sight-seers steamed round the united squadron not once only but often, day after day. But the announcement that the Coronation had been postponed brought all this to an end, and one by one the foreign ships weighed anchor, saluted the admirals, were saluted in turn, and with their bands playing steamed away into the sunset. After a time nothing was left but the large English ships, and by degrees they too disappeared, the Solent resumed its normal aspect, and hardly a man-of-war was left by July 12th to recognise Lord Kitchener, home coming in the *Orotava* from making peace in South Africa. And there had been no review.

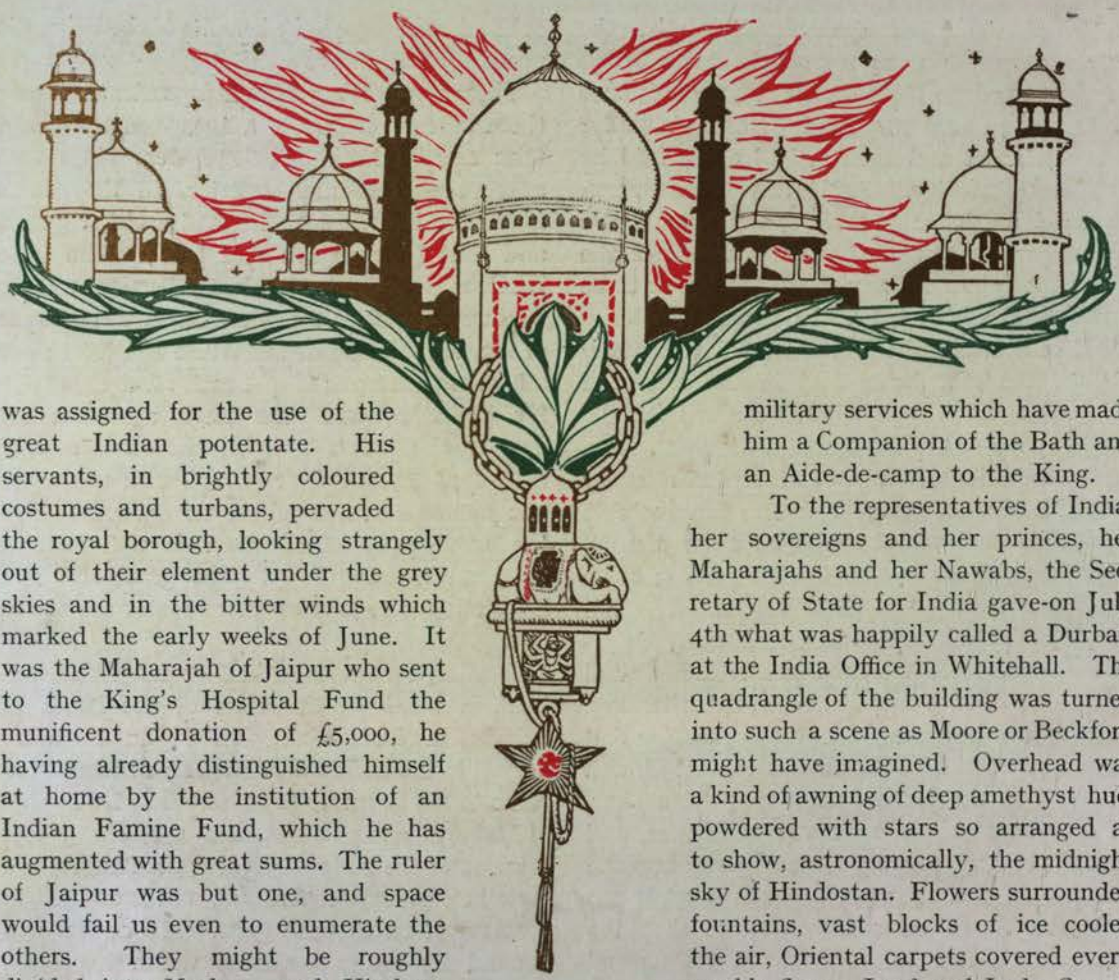
In the last chapter we have had something to say of the representatives of foreign Powers who landed on these shores to bear their part in the Coronation. Those who read the lists of names could not but reflect upon the contrast they presented to the lists of foreigners at the coronation of Queen Victoria, and some remembered the happy rhymes of Barham on that occasion enumerating a few ambassadors, "Esterhazy, all jools," Marshal Soult, Baron Alten, "Prince von Swartzenburg, and many more." But there were none, not even the throng of the descendants of Queen Victoria, upon whom the sovereign of England could look with such just pride as upon those who came to do honour to the *Kaisar-i-Hind*, the Indian Emperor, the successor of the Great Mogul, the mighty ruler under whom the vast peninsula of Hindostan enjoys the benefits of the Britannic peace.

The Guests from India.

There were among them independent princes; there were sovereigns of a lineage more ancient than any in Europe; there were kings who never bowed to any superior till they came under the influence of England and her Queen and that Queen's son and heir; there were Hindoos, Buddhists, Moslems, Persians; there were worshippers of the Grand Lama, worshippers of fire, worshippers of the White Elephant; but all, whose ancestors fought each other so fiercely for centuries, and who have agreed about naught else, came over on the same errand, agreed at last in their great desire to see the one monarch under whom the proudest and the most powerful of them is well content to dwell in tranquillity. The great size and population of many of these states are worth noting.

Gwalior, for instance, half as large as England, is ruled by the chief of the house of Scindia, a Maharajah who is an honorary colonel in the Indian army and an extra aide-de-camp to the Emperor of India. The Maharajah of Jaipur, again, represents the oldest and greatest of the Rajput reigning families, rules a state half as large as Ireland, and is entitled to a salute of twenty-one guns. His arrival was marked by many incidents which impressed the English mind as strange. To bring him and his suite of one hundred and twenty-five persons to Europe, he chartered a ship of the Anchor Line, and, landing at Marseilles, travelled by special train and steamer to Dover. An enormous crowd assembled to see the landing, and as the mail steamer *Duchess of York* entered the harbour a passing man-of-war fired a royal salute. The Mayor of Dover welcomed the visitor, and the process of disembarkation was watched with keen interest. The King and Queen and other personages had sent flowers to deck the saloons of the train to London, and the royal nosegays were employed to adorn the carriage which contained the household god of the Maharajah and the priest who accompanied it. Among the items of his Highness's baggage were great jars containing the sacred water of the Ganges, and only the Hindoo servants were permitted to handle them.

At Victoria Station royal carriages were in attendance, and Moray Lodge, on Campden Hill, in the district locally designated "The Dukeries,"



was assigned for the use of the great Indian potentate. His servants, in brightly coloured costumes and turbans, pervaded the royal borough, looking strangely out of their element under the grey skies and in the bitter winds which marked the early weeks of June. It was the Maharajah of Jaipur who sent to the King's Hospital Fund the munificent donation of £5,000, he having already distinguished himself at home by the institution of an Indian Famine Fund, which he has augmented with great sums. The ruler of Jaipur was but one, and space would fail us even to enumerate the others. They might be roughly divided into Moslems and Hindoos, yet no such classification would be sufficient.

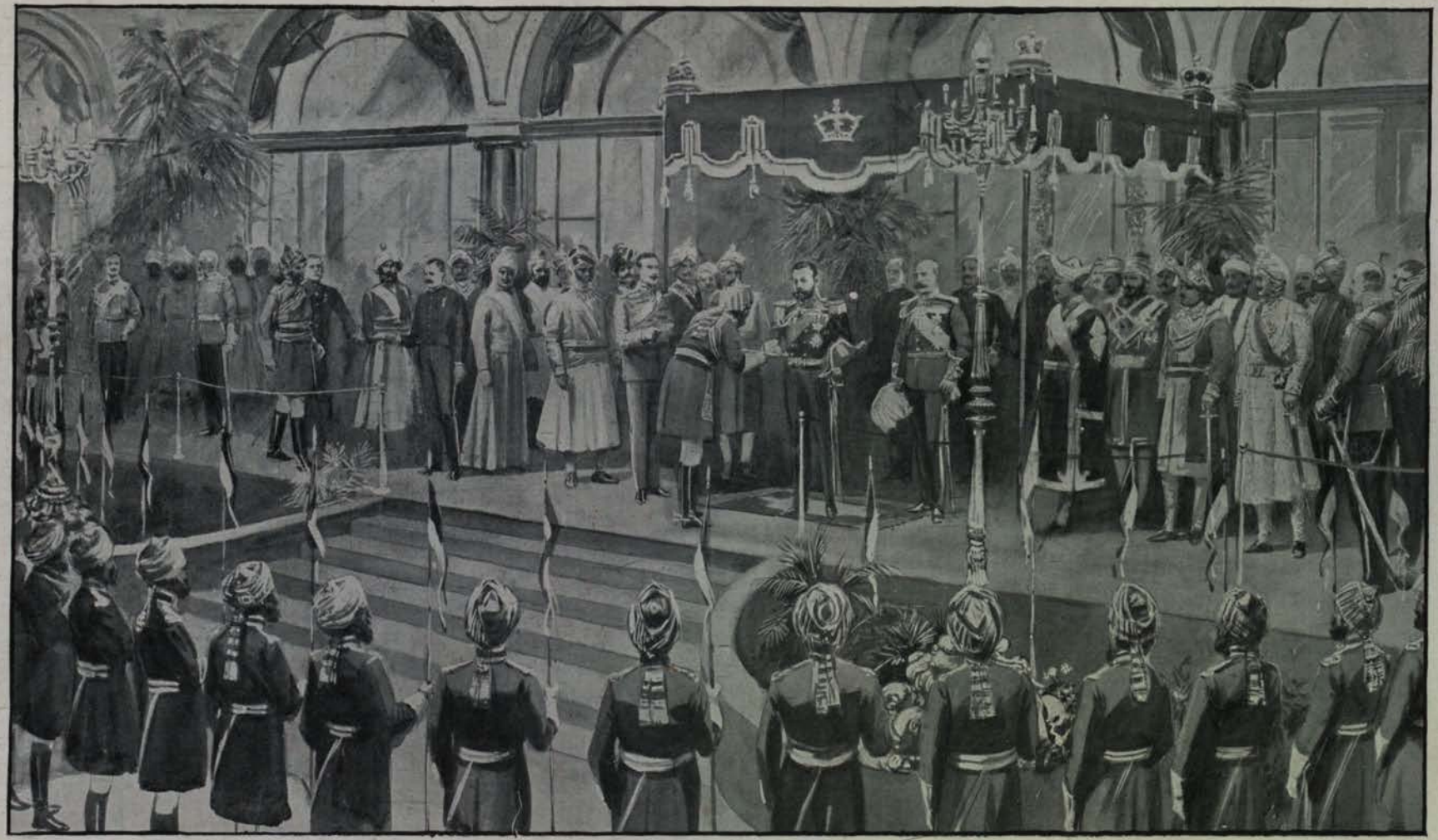
The Parsees were represented by one of the great Bombay merchant princes whose family name, Jeejeebhoy, has long been familiar in England. The Nawab—or, as our fathers wrote it, Nabob—of Bahawalpur was there in person, and the son and heir of the Nawab of Murshedabad. The Tagores of Calcutta, the President of Nagpur, a Singhalese judge, the head of the great Khoja community, a municipal councillor of Rangoon, the Mahratta chief of Kolapore, the rajahs of Bobbili and of Pertabgarh, all were present, with one of the greatest native rulers of India, his Highness Major Sir Ganga Singh, Maharajah of Bikanir, who rules a state of 14,000 acres and a population of nearly a million; and with the Maharajah of Kooch Behar, a prince whose influence in India is not measured by the size of his little state high up on the rivers that form the delta of Bengal, but by his wise conduct and his urbanity, and especially by the enlightened education and the military services which have made him a Companion of the Bath and an Aide-de-camp to the King.

To the representatives of India, her sovereigns and her princes, her Maharajahs and her Nawabs, the Secretary of State for India gave on July 4th what was happily called a Durbar, at the India Office in Whitehall. The quadrangle of the building was turned into such a scene as Moore or Beckford might have imagined. Overhead was a kind of awning of deep amethyst hue, powdered with stars so arranged as to show, astronomically, the midnight sky of Hindostan. Flowers surrounded fountains, vast blocks of ice cooled the air, Oriental carpets covered every marble floor. Lord and Lady George Hamilton received the guests under a canopy of crimson velvet, Indian lancers from the bodyguard of the Governor-General lined the gangways, and a long stream of jewelled rajahs came to present their swords in obeisance to the Prince and Princess of Wales.

Two days before this great function the Prince of Wales had reviewed the Indian troops who had come over for the Coronation, and were encamped at Hampton Court. The review was held on the Horse Guards Parade, where a thousand men assembled, and Colonel Sir Pertab Singh officiated as Aide-de-camp to the Prince.

In addition to the foreign representatives and to the Indian princes and officials, a third class must be mentioned. They, too, were not to be found in the list of personages present at the coronation of Queen Victoria. It may, in fact, be questioned whether at any period of the world's history, so far as we are acquainted

The Colonial Ministers.



THE RECEPTION AT THE INDIA OFFICE.

with it, did a kingly court boast of an assembly of Colonial ministers which can be compared with that which gathered in conference in Whitehall on this occasion. An assembly of the Roman Senate under one of the Twelve Cæsars may have contained men who had served as governors of colonies or of subject kingdoms. But they had all been appointed by the will of the Emperor, and had ruled despotically in countries not many days' journey from those shores of the inland sea which the ancients reckoned the centre of "the known world." The Colonial Premiers, who came to the Coronation and to consult with the Home Government and each other, were men of very different character. They were nominees of no potentate. They held no rank greater than that which anyone who serves his country faithfully may expect to attain. They were emphatically the representatives of freedom, of free institutions; they came to do homage to the head of the State, and to learn, if they could, from him and his counsellors how they might best promote the prosperity of the several nations and provinces which had entrusted to them their interests. This assembly of Prime Ministers, we may safely say, was an assembly such as the world had never before seen.

They came from places scattered not over the world as known to the ancients, but over a world of which only a few thinkers and philosophers of Greece and Rome could even have dreamed. How might Queen Elizabeth have received the information that three short centuries should not elapse before her successor, with a minister the successor and descendant of her chief counsellor, should hold, in her old palace, a meeting of the counsellors of lands which her great explorers were daily discovering, and which Shakespeare, her dramatist, had but just begun to call the Antipodes? Yet here, under the premiership of another Cecil, another Salisbury, has come to pass what the last of the Tudors might well have pronounced to be an impossibility.

Here might be seen the Premier of New Zealand, a group of islands as far from England as the configuration of the round earth will allow, in consultation with another minister whose state lies at the southern extremity of the African continent. Here was a French-Canadian representing the North American colonies, and beside him a gentleman who was born at Sydney, in Australia, and who represented the newest Commonwealth. Newfoundland was in communion with Tasmania, Manitoba with Hong Kong. The influence on the history of our race, and not of our race only, but of all the races of mankind, of such meetings as these cannot but be immense, and, we would all wish to think, cannot but be beneficial.

The consultations, formal or informal, took place chiefly in that part of Whitehall which contains the Colonial Office, and under the presidency of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, his Majesty's Secretary for the Colonies. Here assembled the men to whom the colonists had entrusted the shaping of their destinies. Some of them had made their mark as explorers; some had held office in times of war and rebellion. Others had been summoned to the council chamber in days inflated by prosperity, and had undertaken the most difficult of a statesman's tasks, that of moderating. Among the names of the Colonial Premiers we must distinguish between those who represented the ministries of the Confederated States, such as the Dominion of Canada or the Commonwealth of Australia, and those who were the ministers of the separate States. In North America these different governments were widely apart. Manitoba and British Columbia are no nearer Cape Breton than Morocco to Egypt or Spain to Turkey. The conditions under which the islands of New Zealand were united with one government and one parliament are not the same as those which bind Western Australia to Queensland or Natal to the Cape of Good Hope.

Canada was represented by the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, G.C.M.G., Australia sent the Right Hon. Sir Edmund Barton, G.C.M.G., the Cape—where it may be hoped a great South African Confederation will have its head quarters before long—sent the Right Hon. Sir Gordon Sprigg, G.C.M.G., Natal the Right Hon. Sir Albert Hime, K.C.M.G.; from New Zealand came the Right Hon. Richard John Seddon, from Newfoundland the Right Hon. Sir Robert Bond, K.C.M.G. These formed a kind of committee, occasionally supplemented by the presence of such officials as Lord Strathcona, the Agent-General for Canada, and as the Right Hon. Sir John Forrest, who, having been Premier of Western Australia, is now the Minister of Defence of the new Commonwealth, or

THE CANADIAN ARCH, WHITEHALL, IN JUNE.

REVIEW OF COLONIAL TROOPS ON THE HORSE GUARDS' PARADE:
THE QUEEN'S CARRIAGE PASSING DOWN THE LINE

by one or another of the local ministers, such as the representatives of the governments of the Crown Colonies, the Straits Settlements, the Gold Coast, Lagos, and the West Indies. This committee sat for deliberation at short intervals under the presidency of Mr. Chamberlain, the sittings being unfortunately interrupted for some days by a street accident which deprived them for a time of the chairman. The outcome of the deliberations cannot but be of the greatest service to the world at large, as well as to the several colonies represented.

COLONIAL MINISTERS IN CONFERENCE AT THE COLONIAL OFFICE.

1, SIR ALBERT HIME (NATAL). 2, SIR EDMUND BARTON (AUSTRALIA); 3, MR. SEDDON (NEW ZEALAND); 4, SIR WILFRID LAURIER (CANADA); 5, THE COLONIAL SECRETARY; 6, LORD ONSLOW; 7, SIR GORDON SPRIGG (CAPE COLONY); 8, SIR ROBERT BOND (NEWFOUNDLAND); 9 & 10, SIR JOHN ANDERSON AND SIR M. F. OMMANEY.

The other Prime Ministers who were invited to the Coronation were Mr. Roblin of Manitoba, Mr. Murray of Nova Scotia, Mr. Tweedie of New Brunswick, Mr. Peters of Prince Edward Island, Mr. Haultain of the North West Territories, and there were representatives of West Africa, as well as of South Africa, of Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and Bermuda. The Colonial statesmen were the objects of extensive hospitality, and tours were arranged for them in the manufacturing districts. The most memorable, perhaps, of the London festivities was given at St. James's Palace, when, by special command of the King, all the Colonial representatives were received by the Prince and Princess of Wales on the 10th July. During the indisposition of Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Onslow presided at a banquet organised by the Royal Colonial Institute and other societies of the kind, which was held on the 11th. On the 14th the Duchess of Marlborough entertained them at Blenheim Palace, and there were receptions by Lady Aberdeen and other personages. Still more important, perhaps, from a business point of view, were visits to Lancashire and its great towns, and to Staffordshire, where the potteries were inspected in some detail, and speeches were made by Sir E. Barton, Mr. Seddon, Sir R. Bond, and Mr. Roblin. But it would be impossible to enumerate all the opportunities which were afforded to the Colonial Ministers of becoming acquainted with the old country.

The Colonial troops who came over for the Coronation were reviewed in the presence of Queen Alexandra by the Prince of Wales. This was on Tuesday, July 1st, in front of the Horse Guards in St. James's Park. About 2,000 colonists, who had been encamped at the Alexandra Palace and a few in Kensington

Gardens, took part in an inspection and march past, and witnessed the decoration of some of the officers and men who had distinguished themselves in South Africa. The scene was sadly marred by the wet weather, and the only remark that need be made is that the rain did not seem able to damp the enthusiasm of the men or the interest of the spectators.

The anxiety shown from the beginning by the King that his illness should not interfere with the projected hospitalities to the children and to the poor was seen in the entertainments which have already been mentioned as taking place on June 26th, when 1,300 children assembled, and on June 27th, when about 1,200 were present. They came from such institutions as the Orphanage of the Patriotic Fund, the Newport Market School, the Soldiers' Daughters', the Princess Mary's, the Post Office, and the Sailors' Orphans' Homes, the Deaf and Dumb School, the Merchant Seamen's and the Caledonian Asylums. They were in simple uniforms, which for the most part became them well, especially such old-fashioned costumes as those of the Foundling Hospital, of red and chocolate colour, and the girls with mob caps, or of the little soldiers from Newport Market. Some of them looked highly appropriate to the lawn of the house which Wren built in 1710 for the great Duke of Marlborough, when, about half-past twelve, the little guests sat down to dinner at tables laid under canvas or on the green-sward beneath the trees. Here, before two, the children were visited by their host and hostess, accompanied by the young princes and princess, and after a march past, and some loyal songs, they spent a pleasant hour in play before the time came for them to go home.

These festivities had been preceded by a children's *fête* at Victoria Park on the 24th of June; they were accompanied or followed by similar "school treats" both in London and the country, among which one at Clissold Park may be named, 4,400 children of the borough of Stoke Newington being entertained to tea on Saturday the 28th. At Manchester, on the 26th, 9,000 old people and 114,000 children were entertained; though in most places, where the preparations were not on such a colossal scale, all festivities were postponed. But at Belfast 3,000 poor were given dinner in the Corporation Markets, and in many other Ulster towns there were celebrations, and addresses of sympathy were telegraphed to Buckingham Palace. A curious example was afforded of a distant colony, Honduras, where the news of the King's illness was not known till the full

programme of the public rejoicings had been completed.

When the welcome announcement was made that the King was out of immediate danger, most of the postponed bonfires were lighted. Some, no doubt, had been burned a few days earlier, there being great difficulty in preserving inflammable materials from accident. The 30th of June was the day—or, rather, night—

CHILDREN'S FÊTE IN VICTORIA PARK.

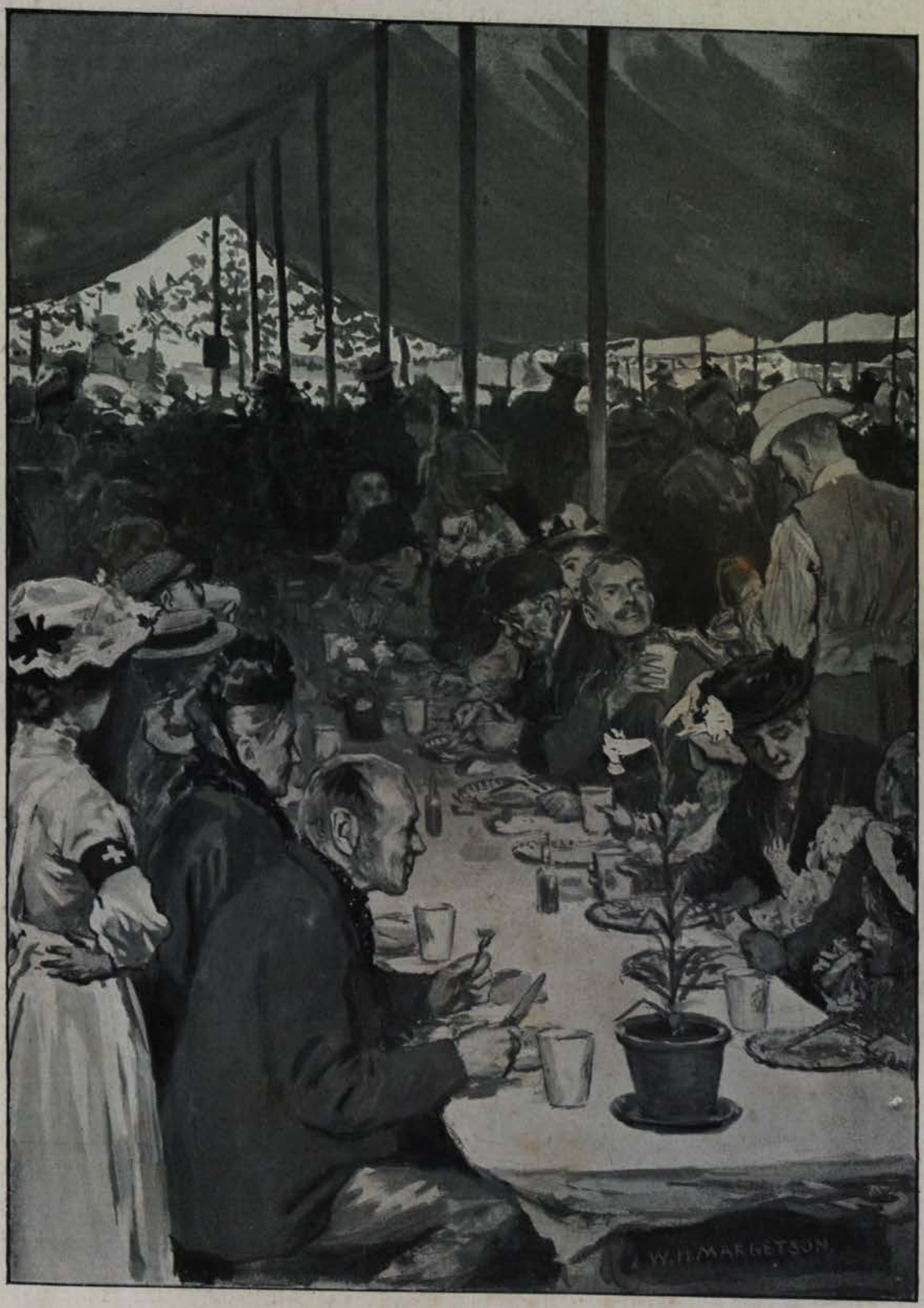
for the display in many places, and fireworks blazed in Dublin, Belfast, Chester, Newcastle, Liverpool, and many other large cities, with bonfires and beacons on the Downs above Chatham, the South Foreland, the hills surrounding Bristol, Rochester, Great Yarmouth, Lowestoft, Norwich, in the Lake District, and, indeed, in all parts of these islands.

A children's *fête* at Kensington on July 9th was a success in spite of a showery day, gradually increasing until a heavy downfall put a period to the proceedings. This was not until nearly six o'clock, but long before that hour some 12,000 children had been feasted, under the immediate care of Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll. The same gracious lady visited Battersea Park on the 11th, when 25,000 children from the local schools marched past her Royal Highness.

The Coronation Bazaar, opened by the Queen on Thursday the 10th, was for the Children's Hospital, Great Ormond Street, and was held in the Botanic Gardens, Regent's Park. There were many similar sales and shows, concerts and dramatic performances, some of which, having been postponed for a few days, came on as soon as the good news of the King's progress towards convalescence became known.

Coronation Bazaar.

A mere enumeration would fill pages of all the presentations, inspections, sales, concerts, dinners, balls, and celebrations, which must, important as some of them were, be classed as the minor events connected with the Coronation. If we delayed over them we should have no space in which to describe what will probably be hereafter considered the most remarkable features of the Coronation festivities —those features which seem to distinguish them from all that have gone before.



"THE KING'S DINNER" AT FULHAM.

The King's dinners and the Queen's teas have already been named more than once. They will both bear a little more description in detail. Mishaps occurred here and there

THE KING'S BEAKERS.
(From a photograph supplied by Messrs. Doulton.)

in connection with the dinners, which came off on the 5th of July. A few of the managers failed to realise the magnitude of the task they had undertaken. The tickets went to the wrong people, the food was of inferior quality, some small but necessary detail was overlooked, or the personal prejudices of some faddist were considered before the obedience due to the King's commands. These things must be mentioned, though they were of little importance, and were significant only because they were the exceptions that proved the rule. They only served, in fact, to accentuate the success of such splendid gatherings as that in the Bishop's Park at Fulham or that at Poplar, or the dinner at which no fewer than 5,000 persons sat down under one roof at Islington.

The King's Dinners.

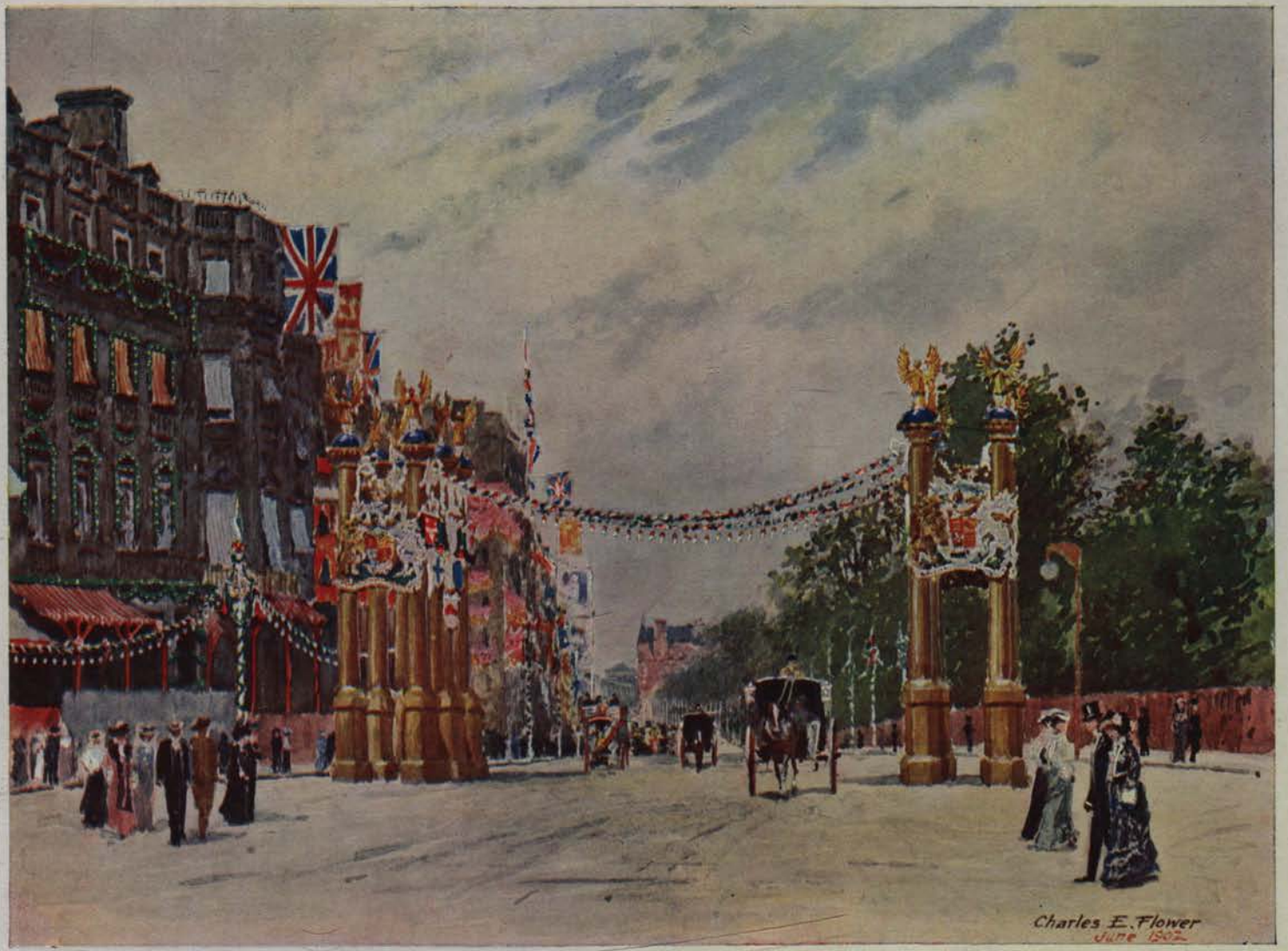
The admirable example set by the members of the Royal Family was another remarkable feature of these festivities. The Prince and Princess of Wales visited Fulham, Poplar, Hackney, and Stepney. Princess Christian, the King's sister, went to St. Marylebone, St. Pancras, and Islington. The series of visits undertaken by the King's brother, the Duke of Connaught, accompanied by the Duchess and the two princesses, their daughters, were made to Holborn, Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, Finsbury, and the Guildhall of the City of London. The Princess Louise and the Duke of Argyll were at Olympia, Kensington Town Hall, Notting Dale, Ladbroke Hall, Paddington, and Pickering Place. The Duchess of Albany visited the south-eastern districts of Bermondsey, Rotherhithe, Deptford, Lewisham, and Greenwich. The two princesses, the married daughters of the King and Queen, undertook with their husbands to inspect the dinners over a very wide field. The Duke and Duchess of Fife went to Chelsea and Battersea, and the Prince and Princess Charles of Denmark to Lambeth, Southwark, and Camberwell. No borough or district was left unvisited, and it may be added that the smaller assemblies were not neglected, and in most cases received their full meed of attention.

At each of the larger dinners speeches were made, and in many cases telegrams of condolence, congratulation, and thanks were transmitted to Buckingham Palace. A gracious answer was returned to each message during the afternoon. There were musical entertainments, and it would be impossible to say how often "God save the King" was sung by the King's guests. The Prince of Wales made short speeches at Fulham, Poplar, Hackney, and

REPRODUCTION (REDUCED) OF THE INVITATION TICKET (IN COLOUR) TO THE "KING'S DINNER."
(By permission of Messrs. Hudson & Kearns.)

Stepney. Of these utterances one must suffice as a specimen:

The King wished me to say that he hopes you will spend a happy day and enjoy yourselves. He wished me to give you the latest news of his health. I thank you, Mr. Mayor, for your kind



PICCADILLY IN JUNE.

address of welcome, and will take care to communicate it to their Majesties. I shall also tell them of the admirable arrangements made in the borough of Hackney.

In addition, the following telegram went from Lord Knollys at Buckingham Palace to the Lord Mayor and to each of the Mayors of boroughs throughout London :—

I am commanded by the King to inform you that his Majesty and the Queen had intended visiting some of his Coronation dinners to-day, and he deeply regrets that his illness prevents their doing so.

The King has, however, deputed members of his family to represent him at as many of these dinners as possible.

I am further commanded by the King to express his hope that his guests are enjoying themselves and are passing a happy day.

It may be noted here that the largest single dinner was that in the grounds of Fulham Palace, where it was computed that 14,000 of the King's guests sat down together. The most magnificent was that at the Guildhall of the City of London, where 100 stewards attended to the wants of 1,000 diners, and where a nosegay was beside the King's cup of each guest.

The Queen's Teas.

The Queen's tea parties were on a different scale and of a different character altogether. The assembly, in a series of small gatherings, of ten thousand of those poor girls whom Londoners habitually call "slaveys," was in itself an eminently philanthropic proceeding. Lives into which, so far, little but rain had fallen, lives which had uniformly been dark and gloomy, were brightened once for all by the Queen's

"THE QUEEN'S TEA": MAIDS-OF-ALL-WORK BEING ENTERTAINED AT THE ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

recognition. The tangible memorial which each of these poor servants took away with her will hereafter be preserved as an earnest and token that somebody cared, somebody remembered a lot which can never any more be called forlorn, and that somebody the greatest lady in the land.

The teas went on at intervals of a few days until the ten thousand girls had been received. The principal societies through which invitations were issued were the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Rochester Diocesan Association for the Care of Friendless Girls, and the Young Women's Christian Association. In addition, a certain number of young servants were recommended by Roman Catholic and Jewish societies. The largest single tea was held in what used to be the dining hall of Christ's Hospital, in Newgate Street. The Bishop of London addressed the guests, a musical performance took place, each girl received an illuminated card, which will entitle her to one of the Queen's brooches, and at the end of tea the following telegram was sent to her Majesty:

Seven hundred and fifty girls, having tea in Christ's Hospital, send hearty and respectful thanks for kind hospitality, and wish her Majesty were here to see their happiness. All greatly delighted to hear good accounts of the King.

CORONATION OF KING EDWARD VII AND QUEEN ALEXANDRA

CHAPTER IX.

THE NINTH OF AUGUST.

Anxiety and Rejoicing—The New Decorations—Their Majesties' Return to Town—A Letter from the King—Dawn of Coronation Day—First Arrivals at the Abbey—The Procession in Whitehall—The State Coach—The Annexe—Scene in the Abbey—The Procession up the Nave—The Queen—The King—The Recognition—The Oath—The Anointing—Receiving the Sword, the Sceptre and the Orb—The Crowning—Inthronisation and Homage—Crowning the Queen—The Communion Service—The Procession from the Abbey—The State Crowns—The Illuminations—From King to People—From People to King—The Reviews—Last Words.

DURING July the alternations of anxiety and rejoicing which passed over London and the country, owing to the King's illness and his recovery, baffle description. As a writer in the *Nineteenth Century* expressed it, in words which I venture to quote, "It is not easy for the chronicler to keep pace with a sequence of events so rapid in their march, and withal so contradictory in their character." This sentence puts into words the feelings of many people during those weeks of darkness, disappointment, and apprehension, followed so closely by relief, hope, and finally, rejoicing. "We have had a new and stirring demonstration," it was further remarked, "of the extent to which the King has the national heart in his keeping—a demonstration such as no other nation could have presented." For in no other country is the monarchy so closely identified with the prosperity of the people, and also with the moral and social improvement which, as we all hope, each year witnesses.

With the first days of August England had brushed away the relics of June. The remembrance of disappointment and loss was turned into anticipation, and London especially set about fresh decorations, perhaps on a smaller scale than before, but, if so, in a better style, in taste which had learned what to choose, what to reject, and, above all, what would be most suitable to the circumstances and the climate. What had been experimental was now certain, and it would be a captious critic who did not prefer the Piccadilly and St. James's Street of August to those of June. True, in many ways the new decorations were less ambitious; but, on the other hand, they were better calculated to bear the rainy nights and stormy days of a season which will long be memorable for its inclemency.

The New Decorations.

The first event to be noticed was the return of the King and Queen from the Solent. This took place on Wednesday, the 6th of August. The interest shown by the people and the enthusiasm of the crowds that gathered between Victoria Station and the Palace was one of the features of a triumphal progress. With characteristic consideration his Majesty, whose departure on the 15th of July had been, so to speak, by the garden door, now prolonged the drive through

Their Majesties' Return.

Grosvenor Place, the Wellington Arch, and Constitution Hill, to the great delight of many thousands who were rejoiced by the evident signs of improvement and growing strength. No ill effects followed the journey and public reception, and Thursday was spent in rest and comparative quiet.

On Friday, the 8th, the Home Office issued, in time for the morning papers, a letter, which should be given in full :—

To My People,—

On the eve of my Coronation, an event which I look upon as one of the most solemn and important in my life, I am anxious to express to my People at Home and in the Colonies, and in India, my heartfelt appreciation of the deep sympathy which they have manifested towards me during the time that my life was in such imminent danger.

The postponement of the ceremony, owing to my illness, caused, I fear, much inconvenience and trouble to all those who intended to celebrate it ; but their disappointment was borne by them with admirable patience and temper.

The prayers of my People for my recovery were heard ; and I now offer up my deepest gratitude to Divine Providence for having preserved my life and given me strength to fulfil the important duties which devolve upon me as the Sovereign of this great Empire.

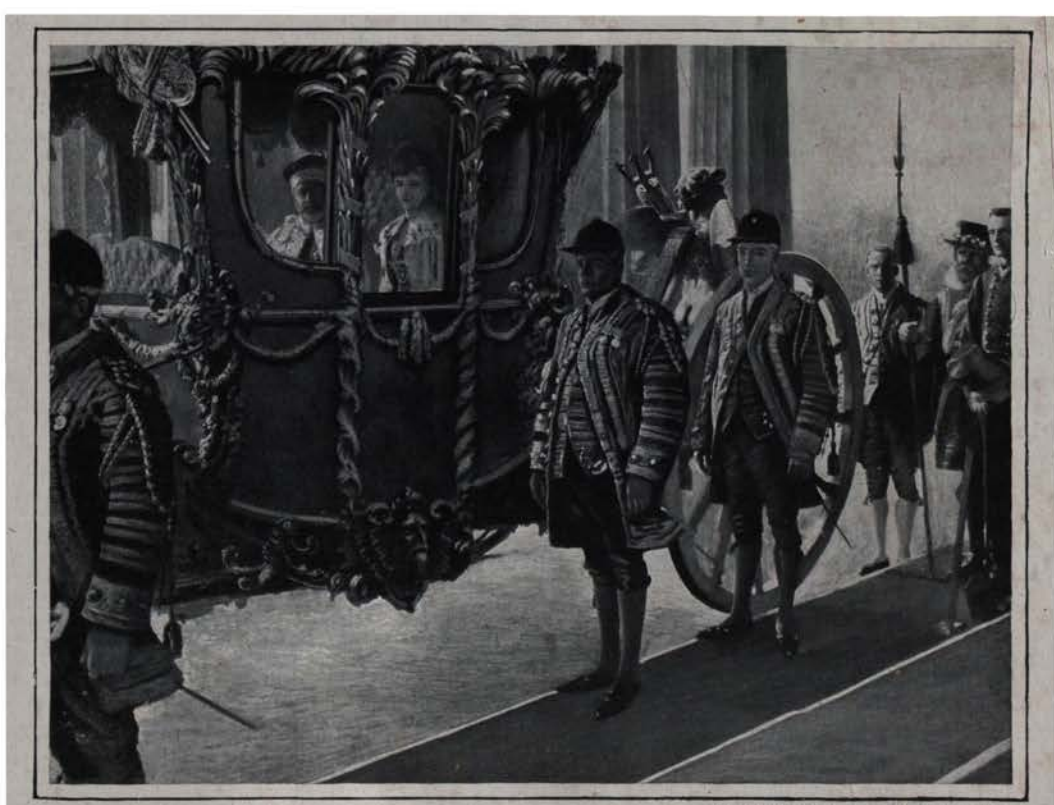
(Signed) Edward R. and I.

Buckingham Palace, 8th August, 1902.

This letter needs no comment. Appended to it was a note :—" The foregoing gracious message, though issued through the official medium of the Home Secretary, takes the form of an autograph letter from King Edward. It represents the personal and spontaneous expression of his Majesty's feelings, and was entirely conceived and written by him." A facsimile has since been printed.

The Dawn of Coronation Day.

Very early in the morning of Saturday, the 9th, the crowds began to assemble ; the police hastened to restrict them to certain quarters not always the best for seeing ; and the weather remained "doubtful" till the homeward procession had passed, when a slight shower allayed the dust. Of real sunshine there was but a transient glimpse, and the day was cool throughout. A few street accidents, such as might have happened at any time; a few faints, sufficiently accounted for by restrictive

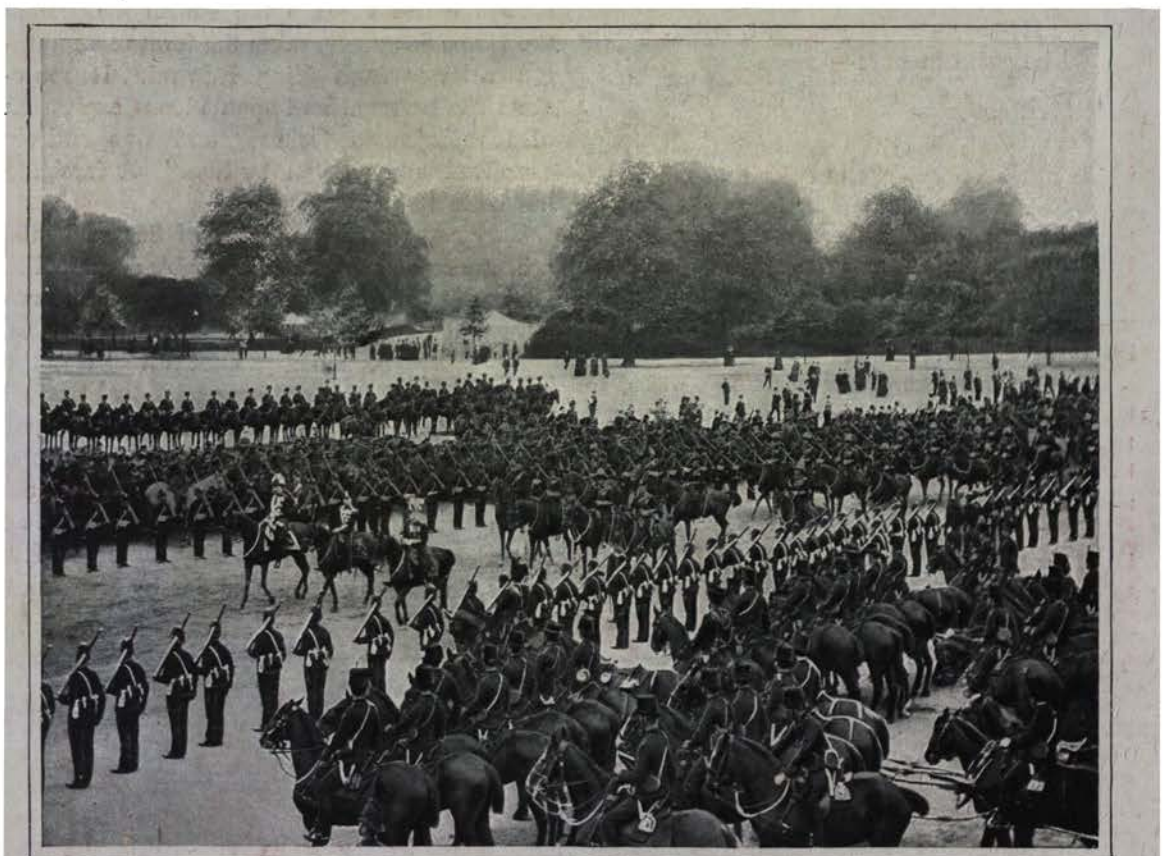


(Photo : Russell & Sons, Baker Street, W.)

THEIR MAJESTIES LEAVING BUCKINGHAM PALACE.

arrangements for the first time enforced in London; a few frustrated attempts to reach one or other of the many spaces purposely, as we must believe, kept open—and the tale of the grumbler is ended.

Westminster Abbey was opened at seven, and from that hour onwards carriages bearing



(Photo: Russell & Sons, Baker Street, W.)

MEMBERS OF THE HEADQUARTERS STAFF IN THE HORSE GUARDS PARADE.

to the great scene those who had the Earl Marshal's orders of admission followed each other in rapid succession through streets gay with military uniforms. The number of fine equipages, the splendid horses, the careful driving, and all those points which most impress a foreigner when he first sees the subdued, unostentatious completeness of English carriages, were noted by the crowd, but without more than a murmur of approbation, and the first which elicited a real cheer of satisfaction was the coach which contained two ladies in the well-known costumes of hospital nurses. The same ladies appeared again in the seats assigned to the princesses and other personages

The First Arrivals.

connected with royalty in the Abbey, and were recognised as the nurses who had so successfully assisted Sir Frederick Treves and his coadjutors. About nine o'clock the Lord Mayor of London, with the Lady Mayoress, drove up. Their gilded coach, drawn by six horses led by grooms and attended by footmen in tail coats and knee breeches, was the only serious rival to that which was to convey the King and Queen, but from its more frequent use within the City was already familiar to most people.

At ten o'clock the stream of carriages was stopped, and the personages who arrived later might be seen crossing the adjacent streets in all the glory of robes and Court dress, with, in many cases, coronets on their heads and their pages following them. A royal carriage containing the two young princes, the sons of the Prince and Princess of Wales, in white sailor costumes, was one of the very last before the royal procession appeared.

At eleven o'clock precisely the guns an-

THE KING ENTERING WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

(From a Painting by W. H. Margetson.)

nounced that the King and Queen were about to leave Buckingham Palace. The procession passed along the Mall, headed by the band of the Life Guards, playing the National Anthem. The crowd here was very great, but the Green Park was kept empty or nearly so. The pace set was extremely slow; but this was not, on account of the trees, so good a place for the sightseer as the street of Whitehall, where the view was uninterrupted and the procession had to turn a corner.

The first sign of its approach to those waiting in Whitehall was the arrival of squadrons of Life Guards, Beefeaters on foot, and Yeomen of the Guard; then more Cuirassiers, red or blue, in a bewildering succession. After them a long line of State carriages, bearing ladies of the Royal Family and their attendants, ending with one which conveyed the King's daughters and Lady Alexandra Duff, whose mother, Princess Louise, Duchess of Fife, was in the carriage, which was drawn by eight magnificent dark brown or black horses.

The Prince and Princess of Wales came next, with an advance guard of the Blues, and preceded by two carriages full of attendants. More Horse Guards followed, and then there was a pause, and the public expectation reached its height. At last a Sovereign's escort of Royal Horse Guards appeared, followed by twelve Watermen, and these by four carriages bearing the immediate attendants of the King and Queen, from the Maids of Honour and Pages to the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Mistress of the Robes. Then a cavalcade of Aides-de-Camp, to the number of one hundred or more, and including the King's Equerries, the headquarters staff—Field-Marshal Lord Roberts, General Lord Kitchener, and, very conspicuous in his drab Scottish Volunteer uniform. Lord Wemyss. Some of the Indian uniforms, on the other hand, were as conspicuous from their brilliant colours and turbans, which were at least as strange to our eyes as the Highland bonnet. Another escort of Horse Guards, and the great State Coach came in sight.

It was drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, led by grooms whose liveries were only less

gorgeous than the harness because there was less room for display. They appeared to advance very slowly. One bystander, who was almost immediately opposite to the Horse Guards, reports that the time which seemed to elapse between the first glimpse of the golden chariot approaching through the archway under the clock and its turning into the street and entering the straight road through the Canadian trophy, was apparently hours long, the few seconds were so full of excitement. All eyes were strained to see that the King was in his place, and to enable some judgment to be formed as to his health and his capacity to go through the trying ordeal which lay immediately before him.

The State Coach.

(Photo: London Stereoscopic Co., Cheapside, E.C.)

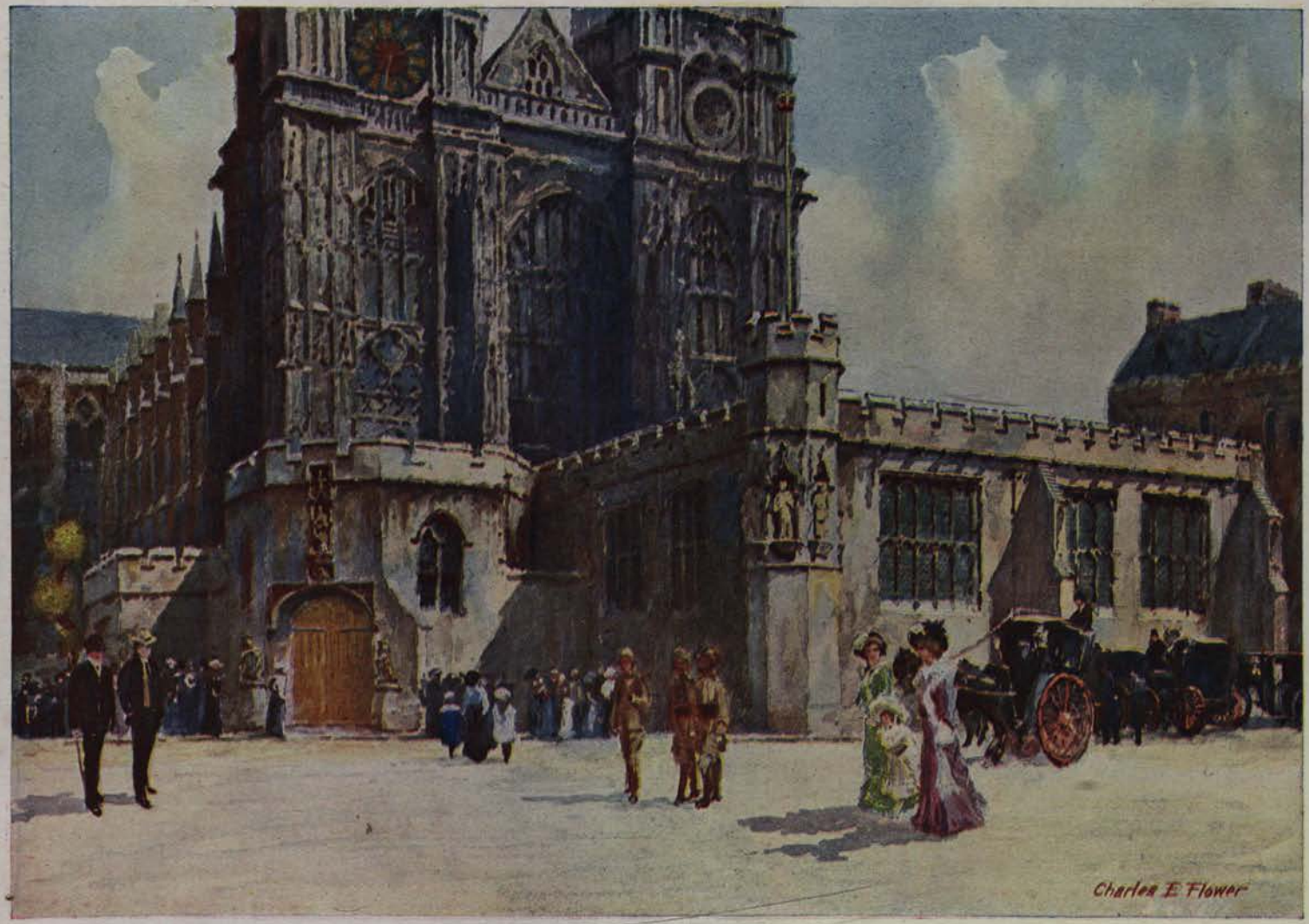
THE STATE COACH IN THE HORSE GUARDS PARADE.

Their Majesties appeared to the necessarily hurried gaze of their anxious subjects to be clad all in white. The coach, all gold and crimson, contrasted with the capes of ermine and the lace and diamonds. The purple robes and train were invisible. A second glance showed that the King, who sat on the right hand of the Queen, looked well, and was evidently pleased at the enthusiasm of the greeting he received. His velvet and minever cap scarcely showed beside the taller head-dress of the Queen, and those whose desire was to see them in their crowns were still unsatisfied as, slowly rolling along, the strange old golden coach passed by, the crown on the top of it being the last thing visible.

So the procession passed on, beneath the Canadian arch, which had been freshly decorated, by the great tiers of seats filled with cheering crowds, where the new public offices are being built, past the entrance of the Houses of Parliament, and so round the various corners, disguised and hidden by wooden galleries, to the door of the annexe, which, protected by an unnecessary awning, for the sun withheld a single ray to brighten the scene, was cleverly arranged as if to meet the coach and save it from having to round one corner more. There the Queen alighted—it was just 11.25—followed immediately by the King in his heavy purple robes, which did not seem to incommode him, so lightly did he step from the swaying chariot. He paused for an instant for one look round at the thousands of cheering spectators lining all the Broad Sanctuary wherever a seat or standing room could be found. Then, amid the clashing of the bells of the Abbey and of St. Margaret's, and the distant roar of guns in Hyde Park, both King and Queen passed from view into the annexe, and retired to their robing-rooms. They entered the annexe through a carved oak portal, over which was a statue of the first Edward whose name is connected with Westminster Abbey. He is but a dim, strange figure historically, half King, half monk, and good in neither capacity, though he has been canonised. Many of us would rather have seen another Edward over the door—that Longshanks who brought the stone to the Abbey on which his descendant was presently to sit, and who, though he was never canonised, well deserved, as ruler and law-giver, the far prouder title of "The Greatest of the Plantagenets."

The King and Queen Alight.

The annexe at the west end of the church, which gave access to the nave, has already been mentioned, but I must pause here to give some account of it. This vestibule, as



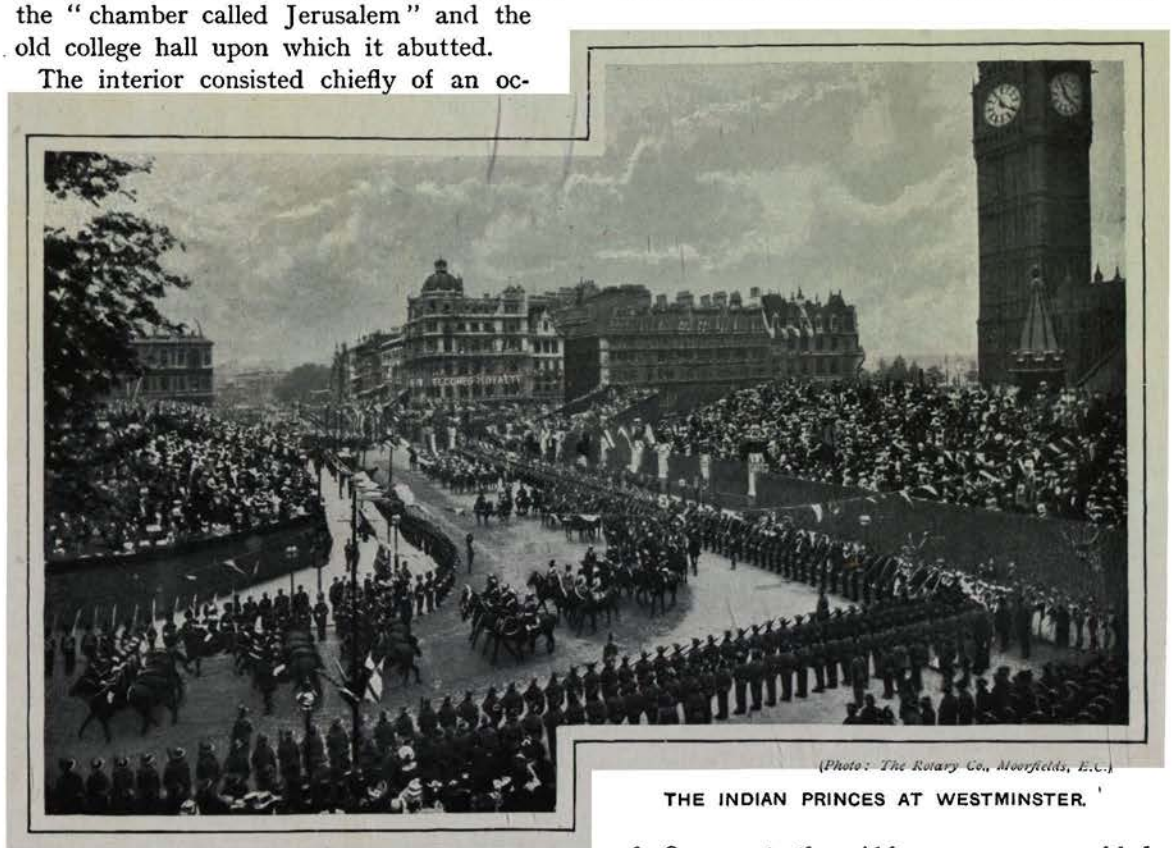
WHERE THE KING AND QUEEN
ALIGHTED: THE ANNEXE

it was officially termed, was frankly a forgery, but not more so than almost all the much-praised cathedral "restorations" of Scott or Street. In fact, it had the merit of being a very original conception, though an imitation in its details, and was so contrived by its architect, Mr. Nutt, of Windsor Castle, as to form a stately entrance, irregular in outline but picturesque, and harmonising closely with the "chamber called Jerusalem" and the old college hall upon which it abutted.

The Annexe.

The interior consisted chiefly of an octagonal hall of entrance, very conveniently planned, and a very fine ante-chamber to the church nave. A Gothic doorway, with heraldic decoration, led into it from the octagon. Divided into two aisles by great wooden pillars, it was hung with fine trophies of arms and armour, conspicuous on the south wall—that opposite the entrance—being three pieces of the noble suite of tapestry which is understood to have been lent for the occasion by a well-known American collector. The fourth piece was on the north wall, east of the entrance archway. The roof was white and plain, the windows were "cottage headed." Many shields of ancient kings' arms, besides badges and other devices, increased the effect of the armour and the hangings. The west door of the Abbey looked strange yet familiar amid all these "forgeries"—or shall I call them "restorations"?—and the Gobelins tapestry which caught the eye immediately within the church, although described as priceless, seemed the more incongruous after the tender colours and quaint conceits of the glorious old Flemish work in the vestibule.

In this hall, before the arrival of the King and Queen at the Abbey, were assembled all who were to take part in the ceremony, except the aged Dean, Dr. Bradley, who had leave to proceed to his seat in the chancel before the archbishops, bishops, and clergy came in. He had, however, with the sub-dean and canons, placed the regalia on a table covered with crimson velvet in the vestibule, near the Abbey door, where the several items could be conveniently handed to those who were to carry them in the procession.



(Photo: The Rotary Co., Moorfields, E.C.)

THE INDIAN PRINCES AT WESTMINSTER.

The Princes and Princesses of the Royal Family had all arrived by 11.0. A kind of box had been provided for the Princesses, including the Duchess of Fife and her little daughter, Lady Alexandra Duff, and close to them sat the Princess of Wales and her two

(*Photo: Frith & Co., Reigate, Surrey.*)

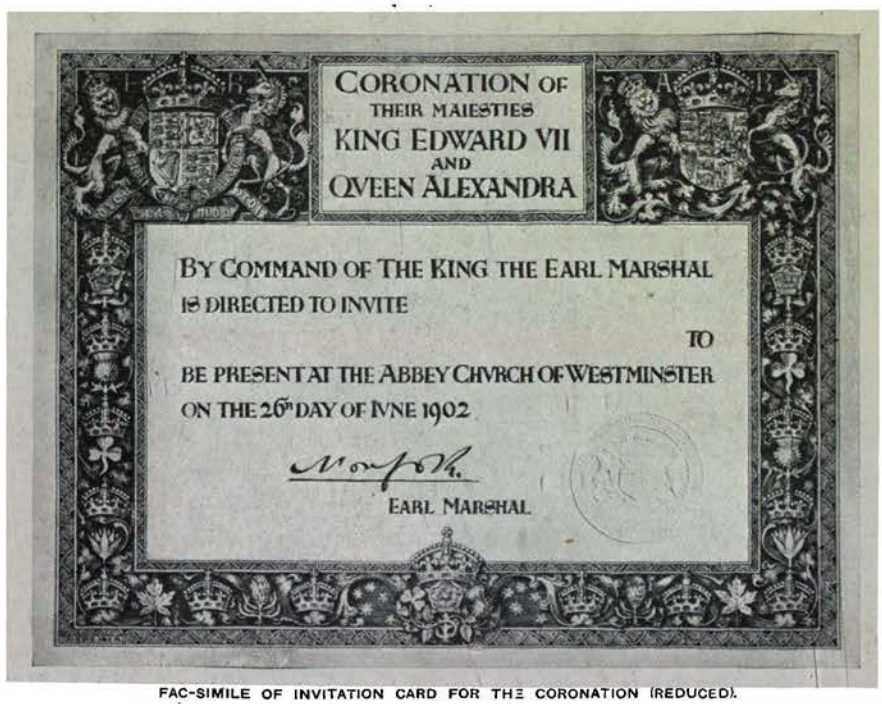
ARRIVAL OF THE ROYAL CARRIAGES AT THE ANNEXE

eldest boys. The Prince of Wales, the aged Duke of Cambridge, and the Duke of Connaught occupied three chairs near the box of the Princesses, on the south side, and in front of the places assigned to the peers.

By 11.50 all was ready in the vestibule, and the head of the procession was marshalled at the Abbey door. The first glance into the nave showed a dense throng of those who had obtained tickets to be present. Above the side aisles were galleries, and above the galleries was the triforium, in which the Westminster boys were assembled. All were filled with seats and hung with amber and blue silk, the carpet on the floor of the nave being dark blue with a pattern of badges, roses, shamrocks, thistles, and lotus flowers. The effect when all the seats were filled was not so sombre as it appeared afterwards, during the days when the public were admitted to see the Abbey before it was dismantled; but in the absence of sunshine it needed many gay dresses and bright uniforms to lighten it up. Through the archway under the organ only a glimpse could be obtained of the "theatre" beyond. In the choir stalls and the seats below them were foreign Ambassadors, Cabinet Ministers, Judges, Colonial Premiers, a large number of ladies, chiefly of high rank but not peeresses, and some of the Indian princes.

The Scene in the Abbey.

The choir was a good place from which to see what could be seen of the ceremonies. The "platform" was immediately beyond, rising five steps, with the throne—not to be confused with the old Coronation Chair, to be mentioned presently—on the top, a similar throne for the Queen standing to the left on two steps, and the whole platform and steps being covered with a Persian carpet of great size and beauty, said to have been woven as far back as 1540. The platform occupied the crossing of the transepts, being under the lantern; and just beyond it—that is, to the eastward, in the space before the Communion Table—was visible the rugged back of the Coronation Chair, St. Edward's Chair as it is often styled. Under the seat could be descried the Stone of Scone. Two other thrones, or armchairs, each with a faldstool in front of it, stood side by side to the south of the space; and there were seats and kneeling places for the Litany, which was not recited, beside the pulpit, which was also unused. A bench for the bishops was placed in front of the tomb of Aymer de Valence. Over the Coronation Chair was laid the canopy of cloth of gold, which during the anointing was to be held over the King. It afforded a gleam of positive colour, of which also the Holy Table, the regalia upon it, and the reredos behind it gave further examples. The chapel of St. Edward within, behind the altar, was roofed and hung and partitioned with white silk, as could easily be seen whenever the doors were opened.



FAC-SIMILE OF INVITATION CARD FOR THE CORONATION (REDUCED).

To the right, in the south transept, were the seats for the peers, according to their precedence, members of the House of Commons being beyond them. In the north transept

were seated the peeresses, and behind them the rest of the Commons.

The Procession in the Abbey.

At last, to those patiently waiting in the Abbey, the appearance of the Royal Procession was heralded by a fanfare from the King's trumpeters, who, gorgeous in gold and blue, with velvet jockey-caps, were grouped on the top of the organ screen. First came the clergy, then the heralds in their coats of many colours, next the officers of

Following the standard-bearers came General Sir Hugh Gough, the keeper of the Crown jewels at the Tower, who bore the two ruby rings for the King and Queen and the sword which was to be offered on the altar. Some great officers of State came next, the acting Lord Chamberlain, Viscount Churchill, with his page, and the Lord Steward, the Earl of Pembroke. With them were the four earls, Knights of the Garter, who were to hold the golden canopy while the King was being anointed—namely,

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY PRESENTING THE KING FOR RECOGNITION.

the Orders of Knighthood, and after these the standard-bearers, who, as they passed in, were received at the door by the noblemen who were to carry the Queen's crown and some other parts of the regalia. A few minutes later they were followed by those who carried the King's crown, sceptres, and swords.

The standards were that of Ireland, borne by the O'Conor Don; that of Scotland, by the hereditary standard-bearer, Henry Scrymgeour Wedderburn; and that of the United Kingdom, by the Duke of Wellington. By the special appointment of his Majesty, the Standard of England was borne by Francis Scaman Dymoke of Scrivelsby, who, if there had been a banquet in Westminster Hall, would have been the champion, as we saw in an earlier chapter.

Earl Cadogan, the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Rosebery, and Earl Spencer. Immediately after them, in the blue and gold of a privy councillor, was the tall form of the Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, accompanied by the Duke of Devonshire, Lord President of the Council. Then followed Lord Ashbourne in the robes of Irish Chancellor, with his purse-bearer and his page; the Archbishop of York, the Lord Chancellor, suitably attended, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and, immediately preceding the bearers of the Queen's regalia, three heralds in their tabards. The Earl of Gosford bore the ivory rod, Lord Harris the sceptre, and, preceded by Viscount Colville, the Duke of Roxburghe carried the Queen's crown.

Walking very slowly, all these officials passed

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY CROWNING THE KING.

(*Photo: Russell & Sons.*)
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

(*Photo: Elliott & Fry.*)
ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

through the vestibule into the nave, there being no delay or pause until the platform was reached, when each took his appointed place.

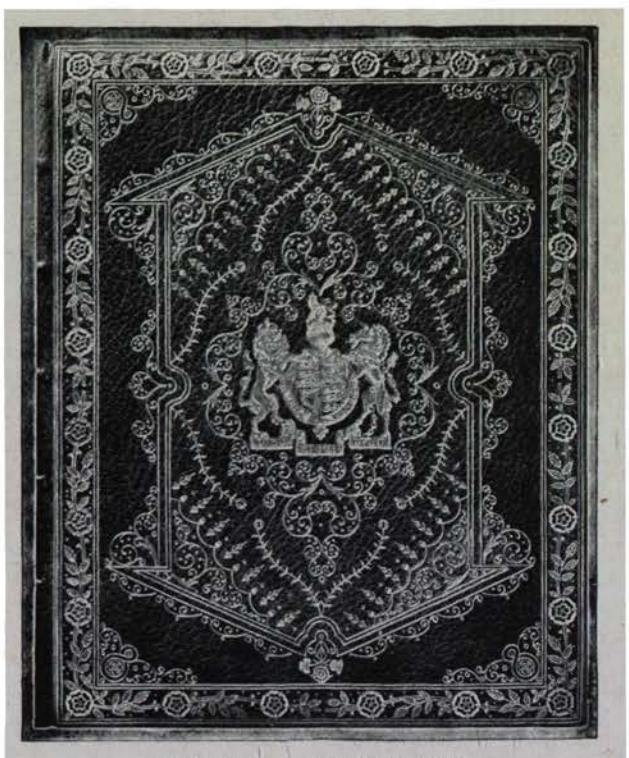
The Queen's maids of honour, the women of the bedchamber and the ladies-in-waiting followed the Queen herself, who was supported on either hand by the Bishops of Oxford and Norwich, both of them, like the two Archbishops, wearing their copes. Her Majesty was followed by the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Mistress of the Robes. Her train borne by six young men of rank—dressed in scarlet, with knots of white silk tied upon the right arm—and guarded by ten gentlemen-at-arms, her Majesty proceeded slowly into the church, through the choir, and on to where, in front of the altar on the south side, were the two chairs with faldstools before them. As to the effect produced by the Queen's appearance, how she walked, how she looked, how the Westminster boys, in the triforium up aloft, greeted her, as she moved forward, with shrill cries of "Vivat Regina Alexandra!" which were echoed by the choir—these things were described in hundreds of journals. For the Queen there was admiration and loyal love in fullest measure; but the appearance of the next part of the procession was waited for anxiously, while her Majesty, passing to the north of the platform, crossed to the nearest of the two chairs in front of the altar, and having knelt for a few moments at the faldstool, took her seat, the two bishops standing by her, one on either side. Her train, eighteen feet long, was of a purple tone of red that harmonised excellently well with the imperial purple robes of the Royal Princesses and with the crimson of the peeresses. The design with which it was embroidered symbolised the development of the Empire, and was carried out in shades of purple, gold, and green. "At the sides of the train," says one recorder, "were two borderings

(*Photo: Hester, Clapton.*)
BISHOP OF LONDON.

(*Photo: Elliott & Fry.*)
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

of cloth of gold. . . . The train was lined throughout with ermine with tails, and the splendid cape of ermine to correspond was fastened to her Majesty's shoulders by cords and tassels of unburnished gold."

With the Queen about half of the procession had reached its goal. The Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, in scarlet, gold-embroidered coat, with his officers, had all the time been busy putting the little army of notables in order for the march into the church. Lord Esher, who had just left the Office of Works, but was still responsible for many of the arrangements, assisted him. Some of the personages assembled were to be shown direct to their seats within, such as Ras Makonnen, the "Ambassador of Prester John"; another Ambassador, Mr. Choate, from America, attired in black, but wearing knee breeches; Sir Wilfrid Laurier, from another part of the same continent, wearing with easy grace the splendid robes of the Grand Cross of St. Michael and St. George; and one after another those members of the Royal Family who were to be conducted with due formality to their places in the chancel. Another section of the brilliant crowd consisted of those who were to attend the King: and perhaps the most important of the duties of the Earl Marshal were with those to whom were entrusted the several parts of the regalia, which lay, as we have seen, on a table by the western door of the nave, where they were placed when brought from the Deanery.



COVER OF THE CORONATION BIBLE.
(By permission of Henry Frowde, Esq., The Oxford University Press.)

Heralded by another blast from the trumpeters, the bearers of the regalia, who preceded the King, entered. The Sceptre with the Cross was borne by the Duke of Argyll, St. Edward's Staff by Earl Carrington, the Golden Spurs by Lord Grey de Ruthyn and Lord Loudoun, "Curtana," the blunted Sword of Mercy, by the Duke of Grafton, the second sword by Earl Roberts, and the third by Viscount Wolseley. The Marquess of Londonderry carried the Sword of State, the Earl of Lucan the Sceptre with the Dove, the Duke of Somerset the orb, and the Duke of Marlborough St. Edward's Crown. The Bishop of London was in charge of the Bible, the Bishop of Ely of the patina, and the Bishop of Winchester of the chalice. With the Deputy Garter King of Arms, in his tabard and collar, was Sir Joseph Dimsdale, who as Lord Mayor of London ranks even out of his own city with the magnates of the realm, and has by long prescription had this place assigned to him. The Lord High Constable, the Duke of Fife, with his staff of office, closed this part of the procession.

The King.

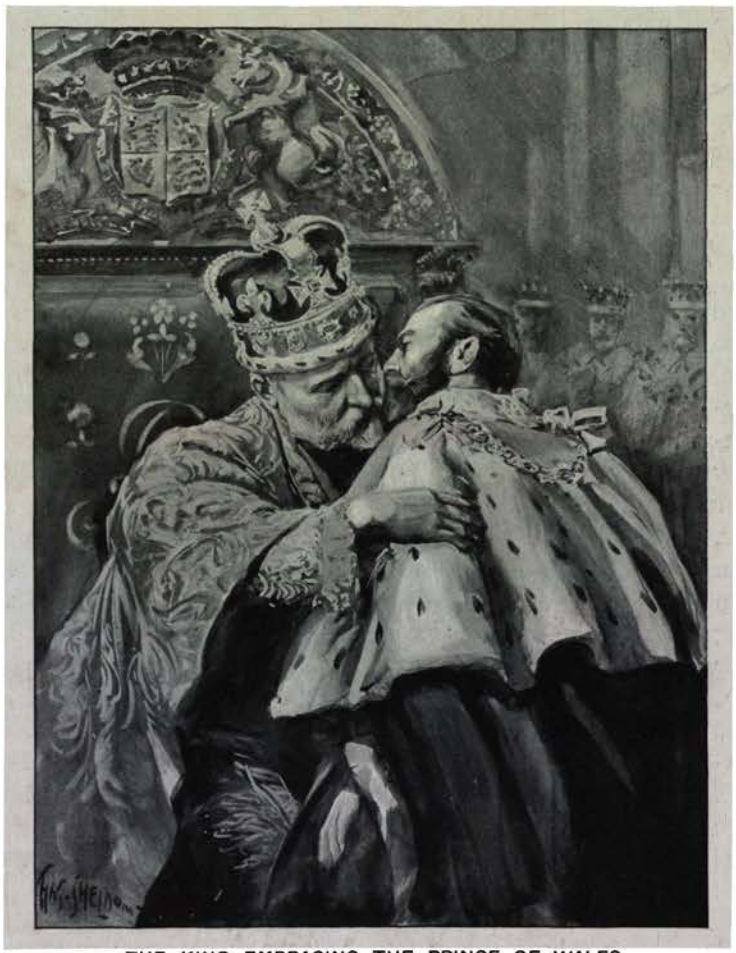
Immediately after the Bishops of London, Winchester and Ely came the King, supported by the Bishop of Durham on his right and by the Bishop of Bath and Wells on his left, his train borne by six young peers in scarlet and gold—the Duke of Leinster, the Marquess Conyngham, the Earls of Portarlington and Caledon, the Lords Vernon and Somers, with two pages, all under the direction of Lord Suffield, the Master of the Robes. It was observed that his Majesty bore traces of his recent illness, but that he walked firmly and showed himself quite equal to the weight of his crimson robe and ermine cape. He wore the collar of the Sovereign of the Order of the Garter with the jewelled

St. George, and the cap of purple and minever in a circlet of gold and diamonds was on his head.

Here it may be noted that the old patterns of the robes had been followed as far as possible.

The King's Robes.

The dalmatic was of cloth of gold, woven at the factory of Messrs. Warner, Braintree, Essex, and embroidered in gold of a deeper colour at the South Kensington School of Art Needlework. The belt was of gold, but plain; and the stole, of the same material, was embroidered with regal and imperial emblems, eagles, roses, shamrocks, and thistles, in colour, each crowned. The imperial mantle was powdered with similar devices, but larger in size, the eagles being worked in silver.



THE KING EMBRACING THE PRINCE OF WALES.

On the King's left walked the Standard Bearer, Colonel A. Fife, and ten gentlemen-at-arms; on his right Lieutenant-Colonel Sir H. Oldham and ten other gentlemen-at-arms. The group immediately surrounding or following his Majesty included the Duke of Portland as Master of the Horse, General Lord Chelmsford as Gold Stick, the Duke of Buccleuch, Earl Waldegrave and Lord Belper as captains of the Yeomen and of the Gentlemen-at-Arms. With them were some great soldiers and sailors, such as Admiral Sir Michael Culme Seymour, General Sir A. Gaselee, Viscount Kitchener, Admiral Sir Edward Seymour, Lord Knollys, the King's equerries and others of the Royal Household, the procession closing with a score of the Yeomen of the Guard.

As his Majesty walked up the nave with regal mien he bowed gravely to right and left. When he passed the choir-screen he was greeted by the Westminster boys with their "Vivat Edwardus Rex! Vivat Rex!" and when the procession came into the chancel and past the space at the crossing of the transepts the choir sang Sir Hubert Parry's setting of the beautiful and familiar English Prayer-Book

(Photo: Russell)
EARL OF PEMBROKE.

DUKE OF NORFOLK. (Photo: Russell & Sons.)

(Photo: Elliott & Fry.)
EARL OF CLARENDON.

(Photo: Robinson, Dublin.)
EARL ROBERTS.

(Photo: Elliott & Fry.)
SIR HUGH GOUGH.

version of "The song of ascents of David" as an anthem. Turning to the right as he entered the "theatre," and passing the Queen with a low bow, the King proceeded to the seat near the altar on her Majesty's right, laying the ermine mantle and train on the seat as he sat down, after he had removed his cap and had knelt for a brief space at the faldstool.

It was just twelve o'clock as the King, having resumed the cap, stood up and turned facing the people. At the same moment the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was in front of the altar facing St. Edward's chair, said, in a loud voice, plainly heard all over the church:

Sirs, I here present unto you King Edward, the undoubted King of this Realm; wherefore all you who are come this day to do your Homage, are you willing to do the same?"

This part of the ceremony answered, in a somewhat shortened form, to the Recognition in the older service, when it was repeated four times from the corners of the platform. Having recited the words once, and having waited till the resounding cries of "God save King Edward!" from every part of the church, with a flourish of trumpets, had subsided, the Archbishop turned to the Holy Table and commenced the Communion Service, the choir first singing as a brief introit Sir Arthur Sullivan's "O hearken Thou to the voice of my calling, my King and my God." Then followed the Lord's Prayer, the opening collect, and, the commandments being omitted, the Epistle, that used every year in the Accession Service. This was read by the Bishop of Ely, and was followed by the Gospel from the same service, read by the Bishop of Winchester. Then the choir sang the Creed to Wesley's music, the congregation rising and facing eastwards. The sermon was omitted, and directly after the "Amen" the Archbishop advanced to the King, who stood up, a large crimson Bible in his hands, opened at the Gospel, and as the Primate repeated the questions of the Oath his Majesty, having first removed the circlet from his head, answered them in a firm and resonant voice. "The things which I have herebefore promised I will perform and keep," was the form in which the oath was taken, and as the words were uttered, his Majesty kissed the Bible.

The Recognition.

The Oath.

(Photo: Thomson, Grosvenor St., W.)
DUCHESS OF BUCCLEUCH.

The Lord Great Chamberlain, Lord Cholmondeley, then approached bearing a silver standish, and a parchment

roll being unfolded on the faldstool by two bishops, the King took the pen and signed it.

Here, partly during the administration of the oath, was sung, very softly, in unison, the old hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, often and perhaps correctly attributed to the Emperor Charles the Great.

After the Oath, the ceremony of Anointing came immediately. The Lord Great Chamberlain assisted his Majesty to divest himself of his robes, the swordbearers taking their places round St. Edward's Chair, and the four earls already named taking the golden pall from the seat and holding it over the King, while the ceremony of anointing was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The sub-dean, Canon Duckworth, brought the golden vessel, or ampulla, from the altar, with the ancient spoon. The Archbishop with his fingers put some of the oil on the King's head, then on his breast, and then on his hands, making each time the sign of the cross as in baptism. During this ceremony, instead of after it, Handel's anthem, "Zadok the Priest," composed for the Coronation of George II. and Queen Caroline, was sung with full harmonies. The ampulla and spoon were restored to the altar,

(Photo: Russell & Sons.)

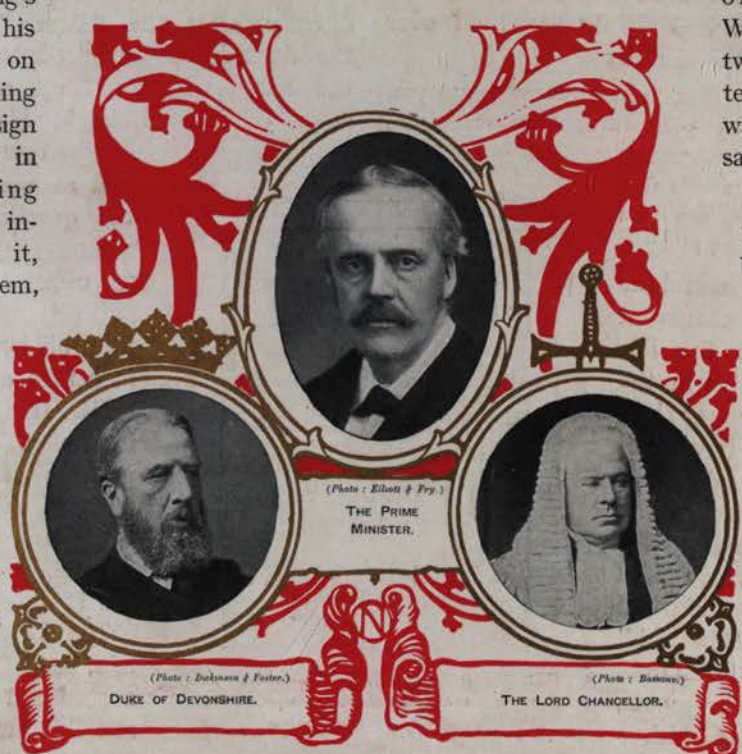
LORD CHOLMONDELEY.

and, as the Archbishop repeated the prescribed collect, the canopy was taken away, and the four earls returned to their places, loud cries of "God save the King!" being raised throughout the church.

When the King rose to his feet, Canon Duckworth, for the Dean, placed on his shoulders the super-tunic of cloth of gold, fastened with a golden clasp. The spurs were next brought from the altar, and the Great Chamberlain touched the King's heels with them. Then Lord Londonderry delivered the Sword of State to Lord Cholmondeley, who sent it into St. Edward's Chapel; while the King's sword, sheathed in a scabbard of purple velvet, was handed to the Archbishop, who laid it on the altar, at the same time repeating the collect in which mention is made of the King's duty in the punishment of evil-doers. Then the two Archbishops, the Bishops of London and Winchester, and the two in special attendance came forward, the Primate saying:

> Receive this Kingly Sword, brought now from the Altar of God, and delivered to you by the hands of us the Bishops and servants of God, though unworthy.

When the Great Chamberlain had girt the sword about



(Photo: Elliott & Fry.)

THE PRIME MINISTER.

(Photo: Dickinson & Foster.)

DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

(Photo: Barraud.)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

the King, the Archbishop continued in the following words:

With this Sword do justice, stop the growth of iniquity, protect the Holy Church of God, help and defend widows and orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain the things that are restored, punish and reform what is amiss, and confirm what is in good order: that doing these things you may be glorious in all virtue, and so faithfully serve our Lord Jesus Christ in this life that you may reign for ever with Him in the life which is to come.

Then the King ungirt the sword, which was restored to the altar, whence the Marquis of Londonderry, having redeemed it for a hundred new shillings in a bag handed to him by the Dean of Westminster, drew the blade from its scabbard, and carried it naked before his Majesty during the remainder of the ceremony. The bracelet of solid gold and the mantle or pall of cloth of gold were then delivered by the Master of the Robes to the Dean of Westminster, who put them upon the King standing, while the Lord Great Chamberlain fastened the clasps. The Archbishop gave him the orb, saying:

Receive this Imperial Robe and Orb; and the Lord your God endue you with knowledge and wisdom, with majesty and with power from on high; the Lord clothe you with the Robe of Righteousness, and with the garments of salvation. And when you see this Orb set under the Cross remember that the whole world is subject to the Power and Empire of Christ our Redeemer.

The orb was then returned to the altar. The ruby ring was next handed by Sir Hugh Gough to the Archbishop, who put it on the fourth finger of his Majesty, saying these words:

Receive this Ring, the ensign of Kingly Dignity and of Defence of the Catholic Faith; and as you are this day solemnly invested in the government of this earthly kingdom, so may you be sealed with that spirit of promise which is the earnest of an heavenly inheritance, and reign with Him who is the blessed and only Potentate, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

The Lord of the Manor of Worksop presented the glove, and the King received the sceptre with the cross and then that with the dove, the Archbishop saying:

Receive the Rod of Equity and Mercy: and God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, direct and assist you in the administration and exercise of all those powers which He hath given you. Be so merciful that you be not too remiss; so execute Justice that you forget not Mercy. Punish the wicked, protect and cherish the just, and lead your people in the way wherein they should go.

All this having been done, the great ceremony—that from which the whole service was called—approached. The King had been elected and recognised, he had been anointed and hallowed. He had received the sword and the sceptre as chief magistrate, and now he was to be crowned in token that all had

been done in order, and that he was indeed the Sovereign of the realm, to whom homage was due.

The crown of St. Edward has been figured and fully described. The Archbishop seemed to feel the solemnity of the occasion, and for the first time he faltered. The Dean and one of the prebendaries gave the crown into his hands, and, with an evident effort, he placed it

The Crowning.

THE CROWNING OF QUEEN ALEXANDRA BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

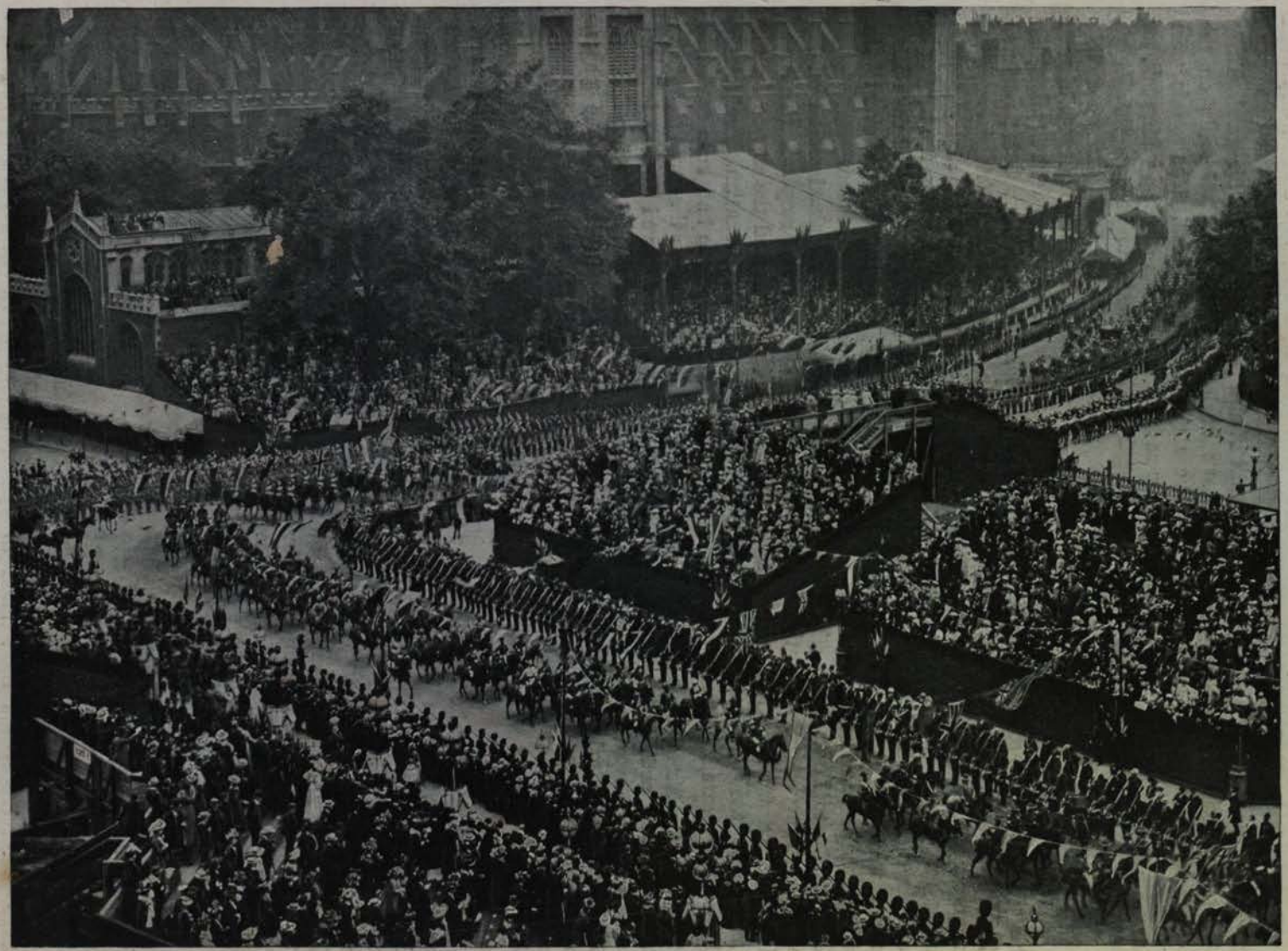
on the King's head, the King himself adjusting it. The "theatre," which up to this had been very dark, was now suddenly filled with the electric light. Now, too, the trumpets blared and the whole assembly raised shouts of "God save the King!" and amid all could be heard the clashing of joy-bells and the booming of guns. At this point an old anthem, used at the crowning of James II., *Confortare*, "Be strong and of good courage," which had been newly set to music by Sir Walter Parratt, was sung. The presentation of the crimson Bible, the gift of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, followed. The seven blessings bestowed on George III. had been condensed into six for Queen Victoria, and were now further shortened into two:

The Lord bless you and keep you; and as He hath made you King over His people, so may He prosper you in this world, and make you partake of His eternal felicity in the world to come. Amen.

The Lord give you a fruitful Country and healthful Seasons; victorious Fleets and Armies, and a quiet Empire; a faithful Senate, wise and upright Counsellors and Magistrates, a loyal Nobility, and a dutiful Gentry; a pious and learned and useful Clergy; an honest, industrious, and obedient Commonalty. Amen.

Then, turning to the people, the Archbishop said:

"And the same Lord God Almighty grant that the Clergy and Nobles assembled here for this great and solemn service, and together with them all the People of the land, fearing God and honouring the King, may, by the merciful superintendency of the Divine Providence, and the vigilant care of our gracious Sovereign, continually enjoy peace,



(*Photo: Russell & Sons, Baker Street, W.*)

THE RETURN FROM THE ABBEY: THE INDIAN TROOPS TURNING INTO PARLIAMENT STREET.

plenty, and prosperity, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to Whom, with the Eternal Father and God the Holy Ghost, be glory in the Church, world without end. Amen."

These words preluded the Homage. The King, a sceptre in either hand, had knelt while the blessing was pronounced, and now rising, attended as before, he walked to the platform on which the ceremony of Inthronisation was to be performed, the bishops there laying their hands on his arms as if to "lift" him into his throne. The scene at this point, with the improved light, was of the highest interest and magnificence, the episcopal robes contrasting finely with the uniforms of the bearers of the regalia grouped around the King. The sceptre with the cross was now handed by his Majesty to the Duke of Argyll, and the other sceptre to Lord Lucan. The Archbishop of Canterbury, leaning on the Bishop of Winchester, came forward to do homage for himself and the lords spiritual. When he had knelt he repeated the words:

Inthronisation and Homage.

"I, Frederick Archbishop of Canterbury, will be faithful and true, and Faith and Truth will bear unto you our Sovereign Lord, and your heirs Kings of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. And I will do and truly acknowledge the Service of the Lands I claim to hold of you, as in right of the Church. So help me God."

The King, perceiving that he had a difficulty in rising, assisted him, as Queen Victoria assisted Lord Rolle, and when he had completed the ceremonial and had kissed the King's cheek his Majesty once more held him by the hand, and then apparently directed the Bishop of Bath to see him safe. The Archbishop, after a brief rest, resumed and completed the service in a voice still marvellously strong.

The Homage was marked by another interesting incident. When the Prince of Wales had recited the words of the Homage, had touched the crown on the King's head and had kissed his left cheek, the King caught his son's hand in his own, and, drawing him forward, kissed him affectionately. In response, the Prince raised the King's right hand to his own lips, then returned to his seat.

The premier duke, the Duke of Norfolk, the premier marquis, Lord Winchester, and the premier earl, Lord Shrewsbury, answered for their orders, as did Lord de Ros, the premier baron. Lord Hereford, who was to have answered for viscounts, was absent, and Lord Falkland, a Scottish viscount whose title comes next in antiquity, answered in his stead. These peers knelt, according to their rank, on the five steps of the platform. The words were the same for all. Each of them undertook, for himself and his peers, to become the King's "liege man of life and limb and of earthly worship"—words full of reminiscences of wars of succession and days of doubt and strife. While the Homage was thus being rendered the choir sang Sir Frederick Bridge's anthem, "Kings shall see and princes also shall worship." Then, with the beating of drums, the blaring of trumpets, and glad shouts of "God save King Edward! May the King live for ever!" the crowning of the King was ended.

While his Majesty remained seated on his throne, still crowned and sceptred, the Archbishop of York commenced the service for the Queen's Coronation. Her Majesty all this time had been seated in her chair on the south side of the chancel. Now she removed to the faldstool before the Altar, attended by the two Bishops, the Mistress of the Robes, and the pages. Four ladies came forward from their seats to hold the canopy, the Duchesses of Portland, Sutherland, Marlborough, and Montrose. The Archbishop, having repeated the prayer, proceeded to anoint her Majesty's head, then put on her hand the ruby ring, and taking from the Holy Table the crown known as Queen Edith's, placed it on her head and recited the blessing. At this moment the peeresses all took the coronets hitherto lying in their laps and put them on, as by a concerted movement. The sceptres were placed in the Queen's hands, and then turning, supported as before, and followed by the Duchess of Buccleuch and the pages bearing her train, she moved to the throne near that of the King on the platform, making a deep courtesy to his Majesty as she passed.

Crowning the Queen.

The Archbishop of Canterbury now resumed the interrupted Communion Service, and their Majesties repaired to the chairs and faldstools placed before the Altar, at the same time taking off their crowns. A piece of the best type of old English music, Purcell's "Let my prayer come up into Thy presence," was meanwhile

THE QUEEN BOWING TO THE KING
ON THE WAY TO HER THRONE.

sung with delicious effect, and the patina with the bread and a vessel with wine were brought to the King, who, laying his hand on them, offered them to the Archbishop—an interesting and ancient feature of the service.

Then the King offered a pall or altar-cloth and a wedge of gold of a pound weight. These offerings he delivered to the Archbishop. Next the Queen, receiving a pall and a piece of gold of a mark weight, handed them to the Archbishop. The Archbishops and bishops then received the communion, and after them the King and Queen, and the service concluded with the Threefold Amen of Orlando Gibbons. It was half-past one when, having replaced their crowns, they retired into St. Edward's Chapel, the King by the door south of the Table, the Queen by the other. As they disappeared the choir raised the opening notes of the *Te Deum*, set to Sir C. Villiers Stanford's music. After a pause, choir and congregation joined in singing the National Anthem, then the Queen, wearing her State Crown, appeared at the north side of the altar before she passed down the Abbey in procession. Many spectators remarked on the face and figure presented by her Majesty as she emerged from St. Edward's Chapel. Queen Edith's crown had been deposited on the shrine and the State Crown assumed, and the Queen stood for an instant in the full light—a vision of beauty and magnificence not to be forgotten. Another pause, broken by the strains of the Kaiser March, and the King, wearing his Imperial Crown, appeared and was greeted with loud acclamations. Still giving no indication of fatigue, he walked with stately step down the church to the western doors.

(Photo: Russell & Sons, Baker Street, W.)

EARL ROBERTS AND THE BEEFEATERS IN WHITEHALL.

The Royal Offerings.

The return from the Abbey to the Palace was made by a much longer route than that in the morning. The ceremony had occupied three-quarters of an hour more than the prescribed time, and it was 2.25 before the

The Procession from the Abbey.

ARMS OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

ARMS OF THE CITY OF WESTMINSTER.

great gilt coach passed the Horse Guards and went on to Charing Cross, Pall Mall, St. James's Street, and Piccadilly. The crowds were dense at every point whence a glimpse could be obtained. It was observed that neither the King nor the Queen bowed to the warm greetings they received; no doubt the unaccustomed burden of the crowns made any movement of the head perilous. Many of the royal and other state carriages which had been in the first procession were not in the second, and the whole train reached Buckingham Palace at three o'clock.

A word may here be inserted about the State Crowns which the King and Queen assumed in St. Edward's Chapel and wore in returning from the Abbey to the Palace. The King's Crown—not, of course, to be confused with St. Edward's Crown, with which he was invested by the Archbishop—has been fully described in an earlier chapter, and is figured in one of our plates (facing page 54); and here it need only be said that its circle had been enlarged and a few jewels had been added. In it appeared the sapphire of Edward the Confessor and the ruby of the Black Prince.

The State Crowns.

The Queen's Crown was set with diamonds only, among them the Koh-i-noor. The whole crown weighed only 22 ounces 15 pennyweights, it being made of silver, and containing 3,688 diamonds, the largest after the Koh-i-noor being one of 17 carats. The largest formed the centre of the four crosses patées, and some of brilliant lustre were in the four *fleurs-de-lis* which alternated with the crosses. The eight arches were encrusted with smaller stones, as was the orb which rose from them. The cross on the top was composed of large stones set clear—that is, they were visible on both sides.

The two crowns were objects of the deepest interest to all who saw them. After Buckingham Palace had been reached a recognition of the feeling excited in his people's minds moved the King to a most gracious act. He led the Queen out to the balcony, where they both stood for some minutes wearing their crowns, to be seen by thousands who might otherwise have longed in vain for so remarkable a sight.

In the evening the illuminations were universal, being chiefly the same in London as those projected and partly carried out in June. This was the case at the Mansion House, the Bank, and the Exchange, which, together with Lombard Street, were a blaze of light. At the West End the royal tradesmen rivalled the clubs and the palaces of Piccadilly, and even more remarkable than the display of light and colour was the orderly behaviour of an immense crowd of sightseers. An acute observer said that "amid all the rejoicing and enthusiasm which seemed to prevail universally, one was conscious of a certain sobriety in the vast multitude not generally perceptible in popular demonstrations. The shadow of death seemed to have come too near to all to be quite forgotten, even in that moment of high festival." Similar scenes were witnessed in all the great centres of population throughout the kingdom—indeed, throughout the Empire.

Two events belong to the history of the great day, and must not be overlooked here. Both are connected with the King's well-known solicitude for the extension and improvement of hospitals and hospital work. A letter, dated "Coronation Day, 1902," was addressed by his Majesty to the Prime Minister, and was published in the papers on Monday, the 11th. It announced that the Osborne estate, having been bequeathed by the late Queen to her eldest son, is now devoted by him to national purposes, and is to be converted into a convalescent home for

From King to People.

officers of the Army and Navy—an institution the want of which was forcibly illustrated during the late war. This royal gift is to take effect at once, the greater part of the house and all the grounds being given up for it. That part of the house which was used by the late Queen and in which she died will be retained in their present condition, as a memorial.

The second event was not less interesting. On the afternoon of the Monday (the 11th) the King received in audience the Lord Mayor of London, Viscount Duncannon and Sir Savile Crossley, who presented the Coronation Gift. This consisted of contributions from persons of all ranks, from such sums as the £5,000 of the Rajah of Jaipur to the 20,000 pence of as many working men, and was further augmented the same week by the munificent gift of £10,000 offered by the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, at his leave-taking on his return to India. The King thanked the trustees of the fund, and then announced his intention of handing the whole sum—which even then amounted to £125,000—to the Prince of Wales, as the President of the Hospital Fund for London.

From People to King.

On Tuesday, the 12th, the King reviewed the representative soldiers of Canada, Australia, Africa, and other colonies, who had come to London in June for the Coronation. This celebration was of a semi-private character, being held in the gardens of Buckingham Palace. The Queen and the Royal Family were present, with Lord Roberts, Lord Kitchener, and one or two of the Indian princes. The Prince of Wales presented a medal to each man, and the whole ceremony occupied two hours, about 1,900 officers and men being present.

Reviews.

The next day was marked by a similar and, in some respects, an even more important ceremony in the same beautiful grounds. To the Colonial troops the royal recognition will always be a pleasant memory and perhaps something more. To the Indian contingent it will always be much more. In India the soldier who has been personally received by his sovereign becomes a marked man. As each of them filed past their Emperor and received from the hands of the Prince of Wales a commemorative medal, they became themselves tangible tokens of the great events in which they have been privileged to take part. The significance of the review,

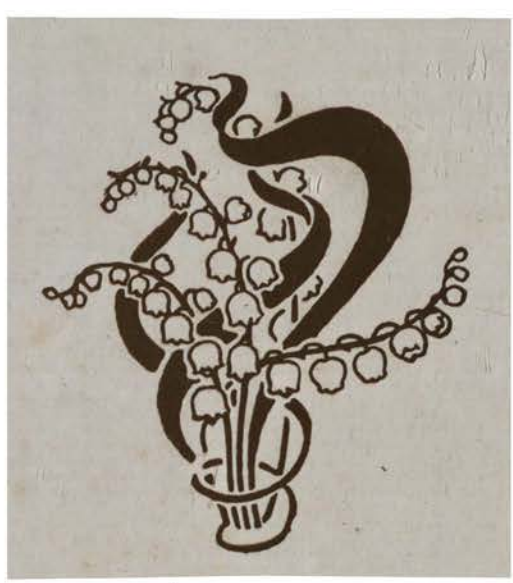
ILLUMINATION OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND AND THE ROYAL EXCHANGE ON CORONATION NIGHT.

as it will be weighed and measured in the lands from which these soldiers came, can hardly be estimated in terms current here in the cold north. These men have heard their sovereign's voice. They have seen him and his family. They have walked in his compound. They have received his gifts; and they, too, in the words of the Homage, have each become in a special sense "his liege man of life and limb and of earthly worship."

On the 14th the King and Queen journeyed to Portsmouth and went on board the royal yacht. Two days later—namely, on the 16th—the Naval Review took place in the Solent between Portsmouth and Ryde. Many of the ships which anchored here in four lines were the same as those which had been on nearly the same ground in June. The larger ships, such as the *Majestic*, were ranged with cruisers in two lines of twenty each. Nearer Portsmouth were two lines of smaller cruisers, torpedo boats, destroyers, and gunboats, to the number of sixty or more. The royal yacht lay off Ryde, near the excursion steamers and those which bore members of the Legislature, and the foreign men-of-war which remained—those, namely, of Portugal, Italy, and Japan. Thence she steamed through the lines, which presented a fine sight for those who could see through the smoke of incessant salutes and the waving of innumerable flags. The illumination of the Fleet at night was on a splendid scale, and the combinations of search-lights were particularly successful.

The inspection of the Fleet on Saturday was to have been supplemented on Monday by an exhibition of the difficult naval manœuvre known as the "gridiron." The weather, which had marred so many of the Coronation celebrations, did not spare this one, and in a gale the King saw the ships simply weigh and salute as they passed the royal yacht and steamed away to their several destinations.

This may be regarded as the last of the celebrations. A period of anticipation and public rejoicing—decorations, illuminations, crowds of foreign guests and representatives of royal houses—a period of deep grief and anxiety—and, at last, the national hope fulfilled, peace and rejoicing, which came not too late, but chastened and subdued, and, as it has been well pointed out, of a more domestic character, a "family event." So ended the hallowing of King Edward VII.



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